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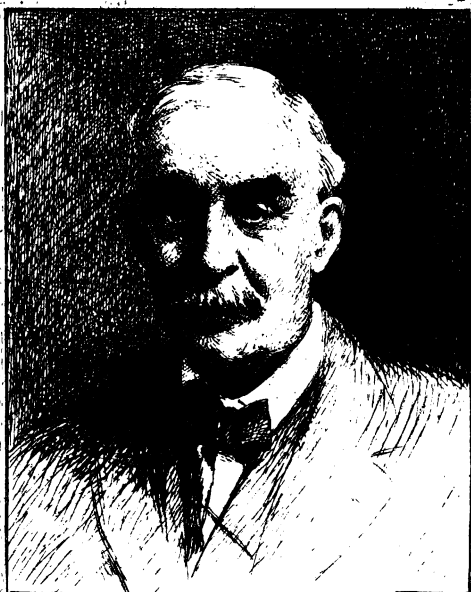
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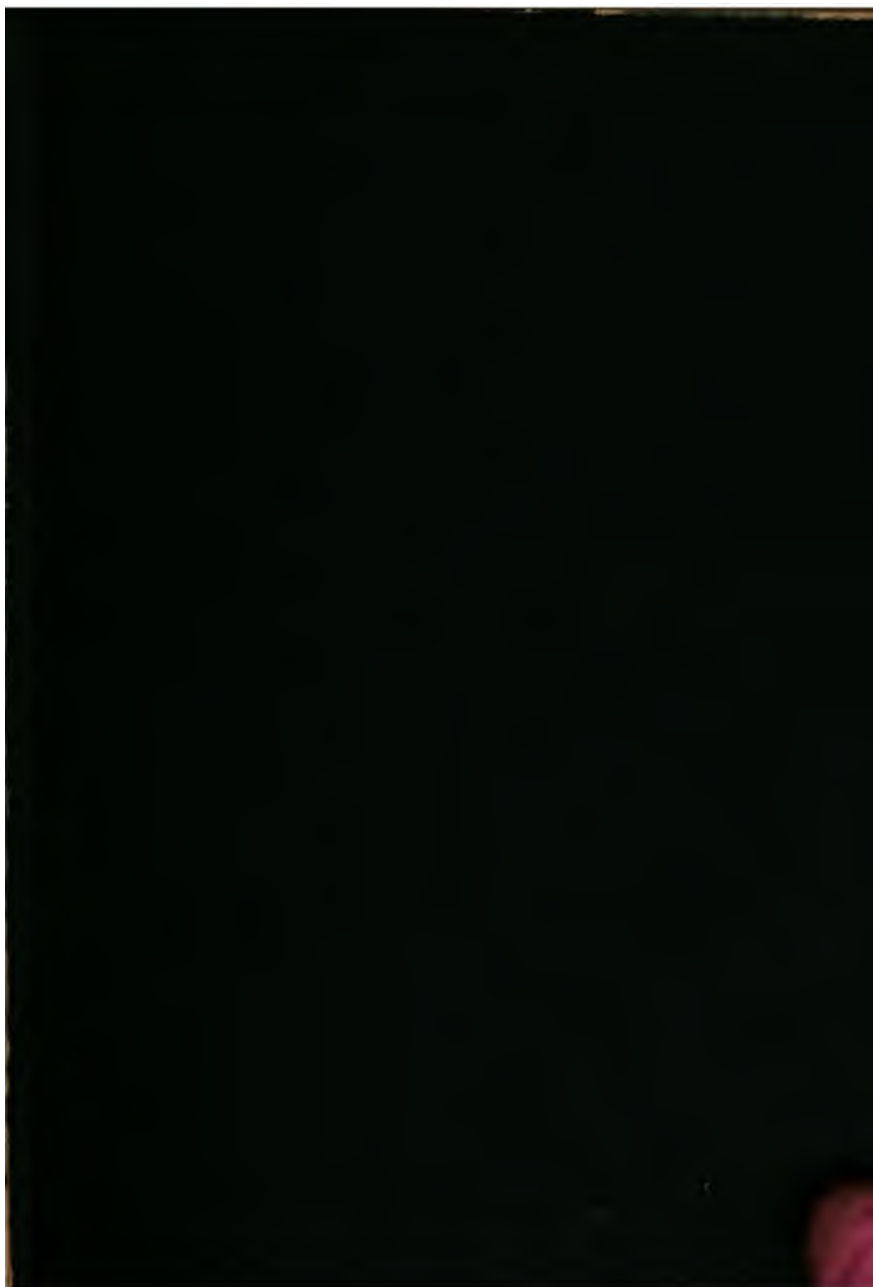
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THE
DOCTRINE OF LAST THINGS

CONTAINED

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

COMPARED WITH

*THE NOTIONS OF THE JEWS AND THE
STATEMENTS OF CHURCH CREEDS*

BY

SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, AND LL.D.



LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1882



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10-28-37

J.A.
12-23-37

"As religion implies a future state, any presumption against this is a presumption against religion."—BUTLER.

"God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity."—*Wisdom*.

"Be thou not curious how the ungodly shall be punished, and when; but inquire how the righteous shall be saved."—*2 Esdras*.

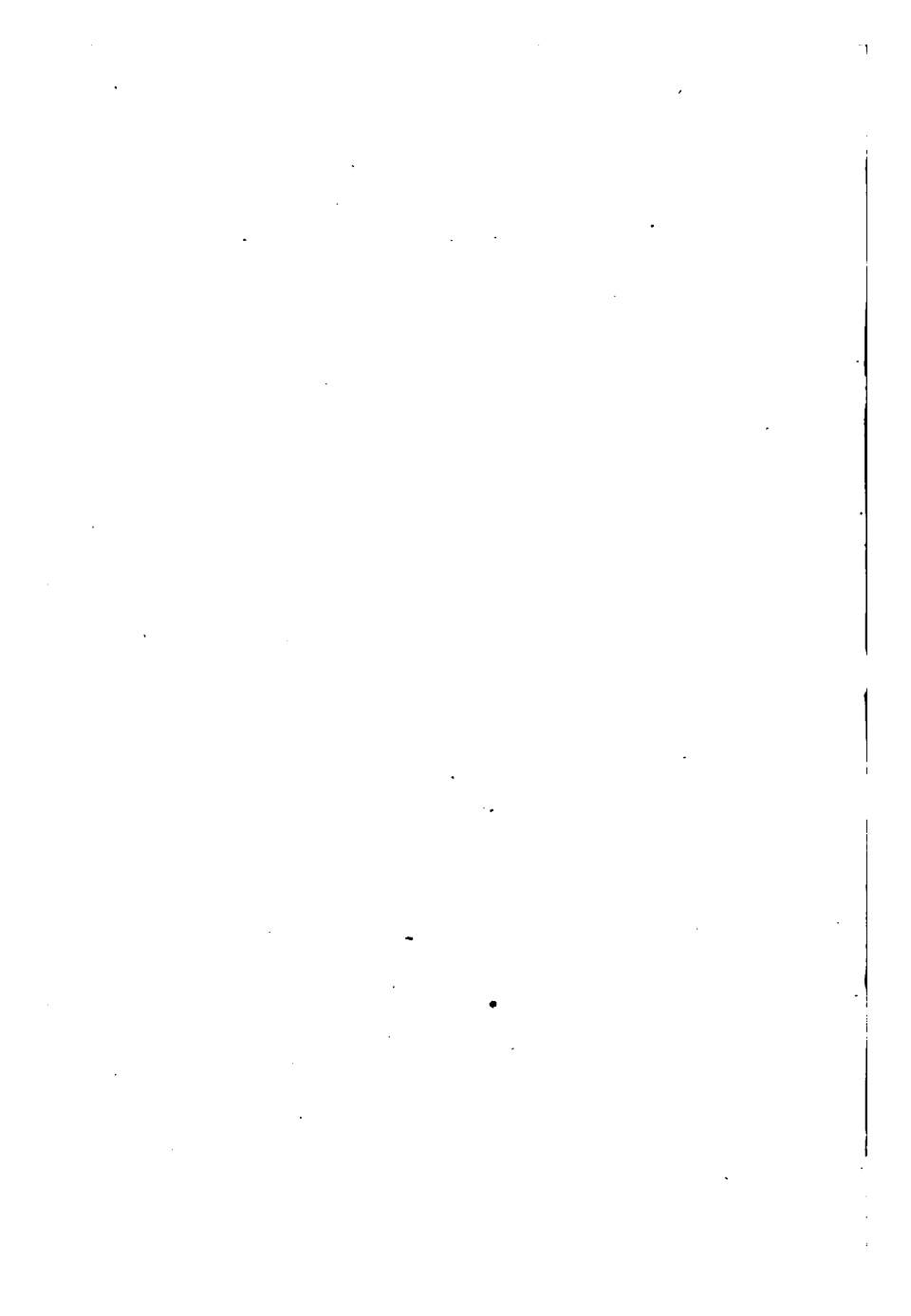
"Hope humbly, then; with trembling pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher, Death; and God adore.
What future bliss he gives not thee to know,
But gives that hope to be thy blessing now.
Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
Man never is, but always to be, blest.
The soul uneasy, and confined at home,
Rests and expatiates in a world to come."

POPE.

"Kein Verzug und keine Unbegreiflichkeit der allgemeinen Weltvollendung darf die Hoffnungs-Seligkeit des Christen stören. Denn nicht allein wird jedem, dem in Tode die Welt vergehet, seine Persönlichkeit erhalten, wofür der heilige Geist die volle Bürgschaft leistet, sondern auch jeder, der in dem Herrn stirbt (Offenb. xiv. 13), tritt mit ihm sofort in eine nähere und freiere Gemeinschaft (Phil. i. 23; Offenb. xiv. 1), und wird überhaupt zu einem neuen und zu einem vollkommeneren Dasein erhoben, nur dass sich dieser Zustand zu dem, den das Ende der Welt erst gewähren kann, wie ein Zwischenzustand verhält, und selbst eine grosse Mannichfaltigkeit von Wo und Wie des Daseins in sich schliesst."—NITZSCH.

"Eine Wiederbringung aller Dinge kann für uns nur die Vorstellung enthalten, dass auch die, welche sich im irdischem Leben vom Ziele ihrer Bestimmung weit verirrt, doch unter den Leiden der künftigen Vergeltung den Rückweg zur Vollkommenheit finden sollen."—BRETSCHNEIDER.

"Keiner, auch der grösste Bösewicht, ist rein böse und der Gnade Gottes unfähig; die Herrschaft des Bösen soll ewig vernichtet werden, aber keine menschliche Seele kann, weil sie Gott geschaffen, ewig untergehen."—DE WETTE.



PREFACE.



THE present treatise is the expansion of an essay written a few years ago. The author, however, has still aimed at brevity, without neglecting anything of moment connected with eschatology. Little is known of man's future, and little can be known now. We may draw imaginary pictures of it ; but that is of little use. Our practical life is in the present, and the present shapes the future. Church creeds have been too dogmatic and definite about future things, on the ground of scattered passages in the Bible which refuse to be pressed within the bands of a system. If the sacred writers pro-

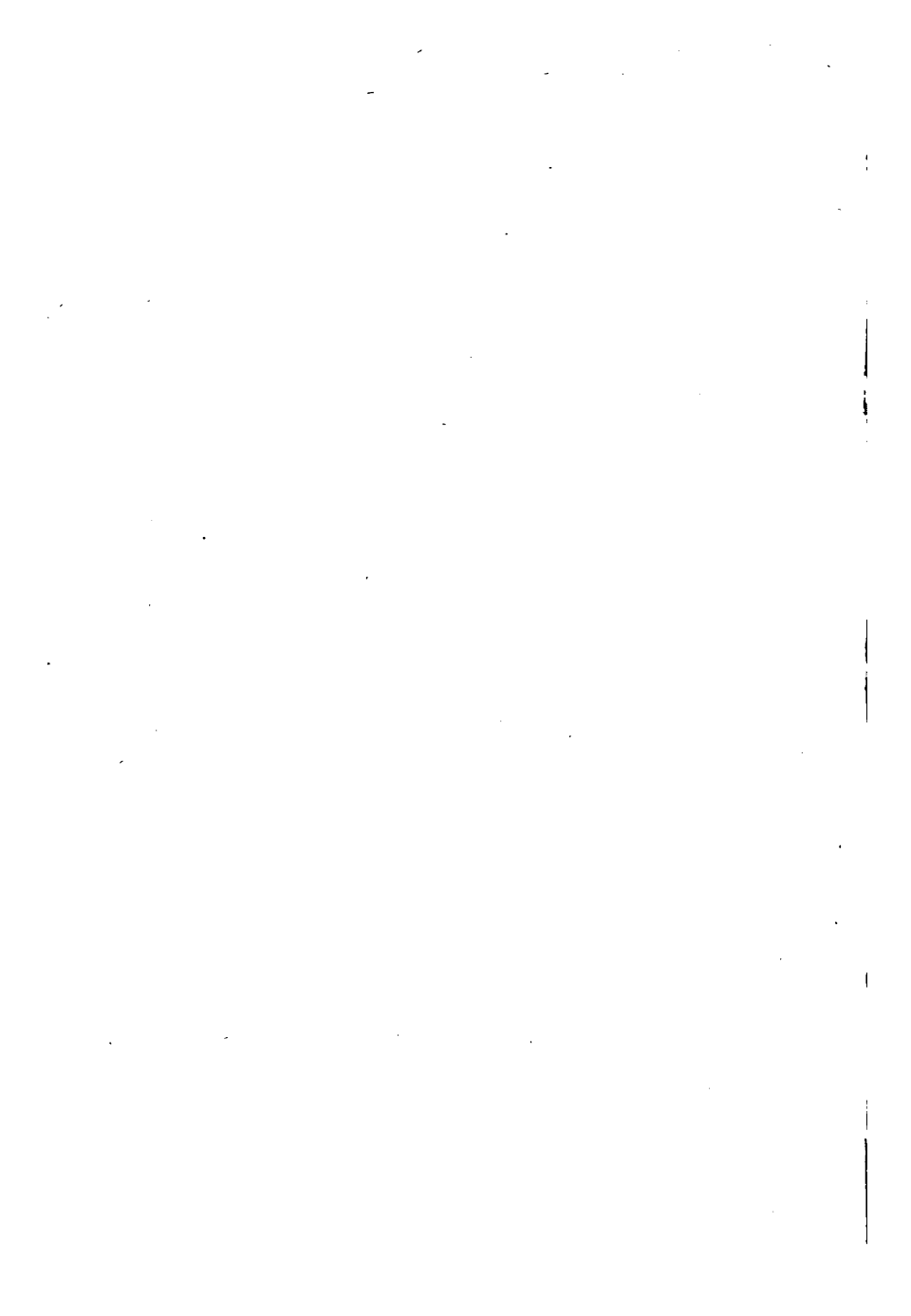
jected their ideas into the future in different ways, all implying deficient knowledge, the understanding should not be exercised in constructing a harmonious view out of elements that disagree. It is important to remember, that our condition in the next world depends upon character in this. Destiny is determined by the unison of our moral nature with the Divine will or the reverse. Happiness is the necessary consequence of goodness. If violence be done to the conscience, unhappiness follows. Moral is as immutable as physical law.

It is hoped that this endeavour of the author's to bring together the ideas which the Biblical writers express respecting man's future and to estimate their value, as also his comparison of them with the creeds of Churches, may be of interest to inquirers. He has not thought it necessary to give the opinions of the fathers at length, because of their small value and the differences among them. The theologians who make

Christian antiquity the interpreter or auxiliary of the New Testament records to a large extent, spend their labour for nought. Some, however, love to burrow among the ancients, drawing dusty inspiration from dogmatic statements and metaphysical details, or from irrational superstitions and assertions which find a ready lodgment in the bosoms of fighters for a faith different from Christ's.

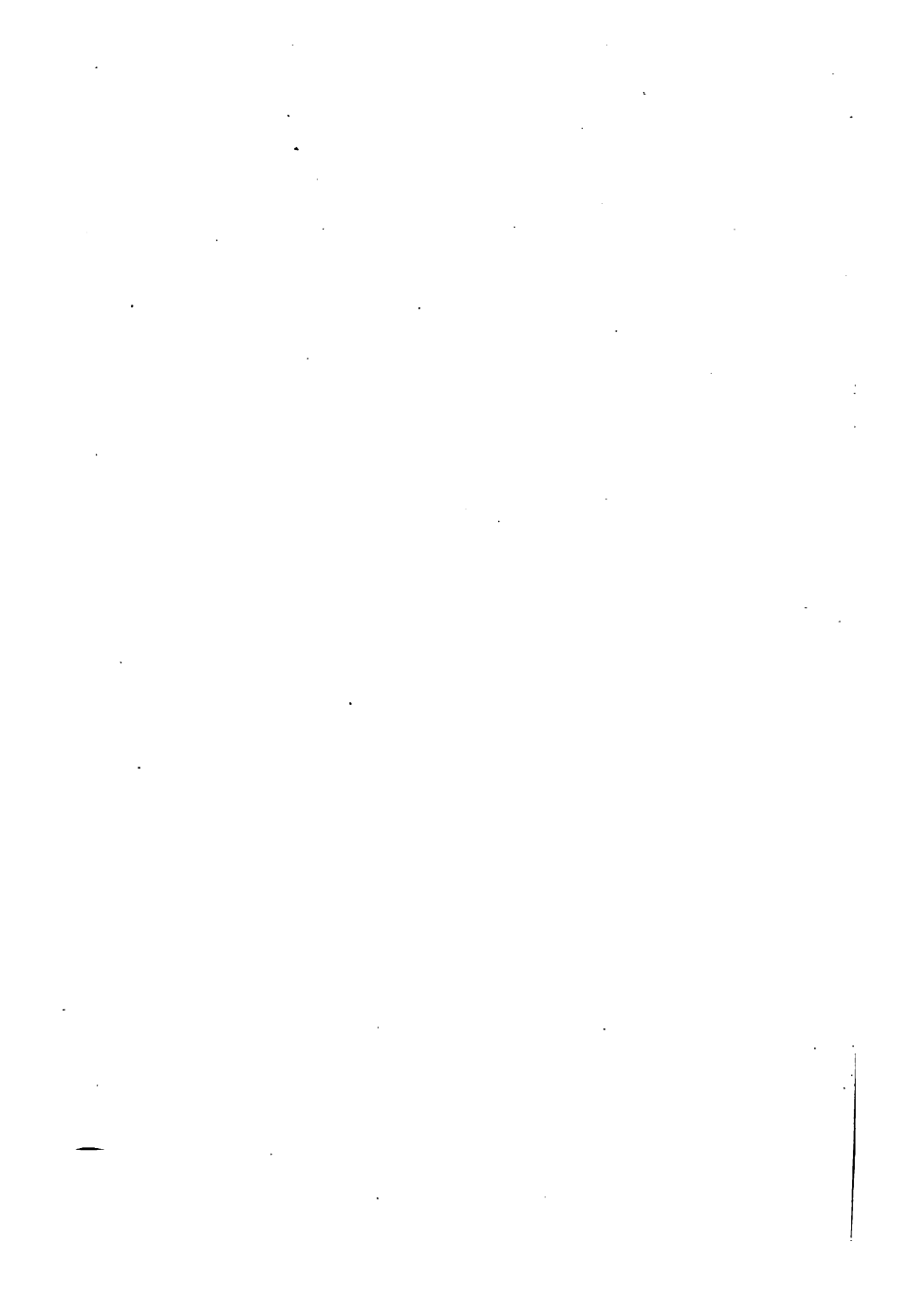
The human mind is prone to peer into the future, often for the very reason that the future is dark. If it can get but little light there, we may conclude that a veil has been wisely thrown over the whole, to nourish hope and strengthen faith, to further obedience to the voice of conscience; in short, to restore the harmony of the moral constitution; a result which Christianity seeks to produce.

New Testament passages are quoted from the author's translation of Von Tischendorf's Greek text, second edition.



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THE
DOCTRINE OF LAST THINGS
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE doctrine of last things is usually called by a single convenient and comprehensive word, *eschatology*; but the particulars included in it are not always the same, being sometimes six or seven in number, though commonly four.¹ We propose to consider the second advent of Christ, the resurrection, the state of the dead till they rise again, the last judgment, future rewards and

¹ Gerhard makes six. See his *Loci Theologici*, vol. xvii. p. 13, ed. Cotta.

punishments. Our list has an addition to the usual contents, which is more important, perhaps, than any of them, though compassed with serious difficulties. But it belongs to the whole subject and requires examination. What does the New Testament teach respecting the particulars mentioned? They are a branch of Christian theology, presenting a test by which the reader can judge how far the genuine Christian spirit developed itself independently of Judaism when the New Testament books were written. The inquiry will also show whether the writers give an harmonious view of the last things, or whether individual peculiarities shaped their opinions. It may also present a criterion in judging the propositions set forth in creeds and confessions relating to the subject; for the question may be asked, How far do these formularies agree with primitive beliefs? The topics in question cannot be examined without a collation of texts, or a comparison of

many passages in the New Testament. A proper conclusion can only be arrived at by the analytic method. Did a homogeneous eschatological view run through the New Testament, we might be satisfied with a synthetic statement, but variations are observable. Laborious as is an examination of the different Christian authors, it is a safe way of arriving at the truth.

CHAPTER II.

CHRIST'S SECOND ADVENT.

THE New Testament teaches that Christ will come again to earth in a visible and glorious form, attended by angels, to raise the dead and judge mankind. Of the passages bearing on the subject some give his own words ; others, those of apostles, evangelists, and early Christians. To the former belong these statements : “ And then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven : and all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and will see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he will send his angels with a great trumpet, and they will gather together his elect

out of the four winds, from the ends of the heavens to the ends thereof.”¹ “But when the Son of man shall have come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then will he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him will be gathered together all the nations: and he will separate them one from another, as the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and will set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.”² “Henceforth ye will see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.”³ “And ye will see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.”⁴ “For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him will the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and the Father’s, and that of the holy angels.”⁵ To the latter belong the follow-

¹ Matt. xxiv. 30, 31.

² Matt. xxv. 31-33.

³ Matt. xxvi. 64.

⁴ Mark xiv. 62.

⁵ Luke ix. 26.

ing : "This Jesus, who was taken up from you into the heaven, will come in like manner as ye saw him go into the heaven."¹ "When Christ, your life, is manifested, then will ye also be manifested with him in glory."² "At the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his saints."³ "Because the Lord himself will descend from heaven at a signal shout, at the voice of an archangel, and at the trump of God : and the dead in Christ will rise first."⁴ "At the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with angels of his power," etc.⁵ "Christ will appear a second time without sin to them that wait for him, unto salvation."⁶ "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief," etc.⁷ "That we may not be ashamed before him at his coming."⁸ This visible manifestation is expressed by two Greek words.⁹ The time of its occurrence is

¹ Acts i. 11.² Col. iii. 4.³ 1 Thess. iii. 13.⁴ 1 Thess. iv. 16.⁵ 2 Thess. i. 7.⁶ Heb. ix. 28.⁷ 2 Pet. iii. 10.⁸ 1 John ii. 28.⁹ παρουσία, ἀποκάλυψις.

*the day, that day, the last day, the day of judgment, the day of the wrath, the day of redemption, the day of the Lord or of God, the great day.*¹ Since it is generally described as near, admonitions and comforting assurances are founded upon it. The expectation of its nearness among the first Christians contributed much to their steadfastness in the faith, amid the trying circumstances in which they were placed.

It will be convenient to consider the details chronologically, according to the times in which the writings referring to them appeared. Hence the Pauline view will come first, that of the Revelation and other intermediate works second, and the Gospels last. The post-Pauline may be appended to the Pauline productions, without occupying a position by themselves.

Paul looked upon the second advent as at

¹ ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐκεῖνη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, ἡ ἡμέρα κρίσεως, ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ὀργῆς, ἡ ἡμέρα ἀπολυτρώσεως, ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη.

hand, for he writes : " The night is far spent, and the day is at hand ; " ¹ and, " The Lord is at hand. " ² It is also said, in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, " We the living who remain unto the coming of the Lord shall by no means go before them that slept ; because the Lord himself will descend from heaven, " etc., etc. ³ The writer and his contemporaries expected to survive the second advent. The apostle also intimates his survival of the event, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians : " Behold, I tell you a mystery ; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet : for it will sound, and the dead will be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. " ⁴ In the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, which is post-Pauline, the day of Christ is postponed till after the great apostasy and revelation of Antichrist. The

¹ Rom. xiii. 12.

² iv. 15, etc.

³ Phil. iv. 5.

⁴ xv. 51, 52.

writer did not believe in the nearness of the second coming.

The declarations of Jesus himself about his speedy return possess greater interest than those of apostles. But they involve much difficulty, and important issues hang upon them. The question is, Did the predictions put into the mouth of Jesus respecting his personal return proceed from himself or the disciples? According to Strauss, Renan, Weizsäcker, Keim, Pünjer and others, they did; according to Holtzmann, Schenkel, Colani, Baur, De Wette, Hase, and others, they did not. If Jesus was mistaken, as the former opinion implies, how can he be the sinless heavenly man whom Paul reverences? If the latter be true, the disciples are inaccurate reporters of the Master's words, because they misunderstood his meaning and reproduced it in an altered shape.

A lengthened discussion of this subject would occupy space out of proportion to our purpose.

Such as desire to see it examined minutely are referred to Pünjer's essay.¹ We content ourselves with a few observations in favour of the second view, viz. that the declarations of Jesus respecting his visible advent were misapprehended by his followers.

The twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew's Gospel, the thirteenth of Mark's, and the twenty-first of Luke's, contain Christ's discourses relating to his return; the first at greater length than the others. We learn from them that the event was to follow the destruction of Jerusalem immediately, for it is expressly said, "*immediately after* the affliction of those days the sun will be darkened," etc.² That generation should not pass away till all was fulfilled. Though Luke is not so explicit as Matthew respecting the immediate succession of the advent to the destruction of Jerusalem, his

¹ In Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1878.

² Matt. xxiv. 29.

language implies it, since he repeats the words of the first Gospel.¹ In conformity with the same statement, the instructions given to the apostles on their first mission have the declaration, "Ye will not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of man come."² On another occasion Jesus said to his disciples, "For the Son of man is about to come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he will reward every one according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There are some of those standing here who will not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom."³

It is useless to examine the expedients devised to get rid of the plain sense of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew's gospel. Some assume that there is a twofold coming of Jesus—a visible one to judge the world; an invisible one to destroy Jerusalem.

¹ xxi. 32.

² Matt. x. 23.

³ Matt. xvi. 27, 28.

We ask, however, Is the double sense to be carried throughout the entire description; so that the literal and figurative intermingle? If so, an interpreter may indulge in imaginary assumptions at will, since he proceeds on an untenable basis. The only true exegesis is that which separates the discourse into parts relating to the one event or to the other; and this course is commonly followed by commentators. The transition from the destruction of Jerusalem to the judgment-day is made by Jerome, Chrysostom and others at Matt. xxiv. 13. Doddridge finds it at xxiv. 36; Kühnöl and Robinson at the forty-third verse; Eichhorn at xxv. 14; Lightfoot and Wetstein at xxv. 31. The natural division is at xxiv. 29; and this view would have been generally adopted had not the adverb *immediately* connecting the one event with the other in rapid succession presented a stumbling-block; for we need scarcely say that it cannot mean *suddenly* or *unexpectedly* as

Paulus affirms. Nothing is clearer than that the language of xxiv. 29-31 does not describe Jerusalem's overthrow; and Robinson's attempt to fit it to that event serves but to strengthen the opposite opinion.¹ The thirty-first verse cannot be so cramped: "And he will send his angels with a great trumpet, and they will gather together his elect out of the four winds, from the ends of the heaven to the ends thereof." In like manner, the thirty-sixth verse, "But of *that day and hour* no one knows, neither the angels of the heavens, nor the Son, but the Father only," can mean nothing else than the expected day.

Have we, then, an accurate reproduction of the discourse said to have been delivered on the Mount of Olives, in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew's Gospel? Internal evidence points to a negative answer, for—

¹ In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1843, p. 545, etc.

(a) The questions in xxiv. 3 are not expressly or definitely answered, as the different ways of commentators in appropriating the parts of 4-35 to the third verse serve to show. The answer chiefly refers to the second question, viz. "What will be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the existing age?" the destruction of Jerusalem and the disasters preceding it being preluding signs of the advent. The first question, "When will these things be?" receives a sort of indirect answer; but the time is left indefinite. Neither question gets a plain response, and both are partially evaded.

(b) The parts composing the paragraph (xxiv. 4-35) are without proper connection and have no perceptible progress.

(c) The prediction of future occurrences running into minute details, is unlike the character of Jesus' teaching.

(d) The scrupulosity about the observance of the Sabbath mentioned in the twentieth

verse, does not agree with the spirit of his preaching.

(e) The words, "And the gospel of the kingdom will be preached in all the world for a witness unto all the nations, and then will the end come" (verse 14), imply that the gospel should be proclaimed to the whole Gentile world before Jesus' coming; though the latter event was to happen soon. The Master could not have used such language.

(f) What Jesus emphasized was the internal side of the kingdom of God. So Luke writes: "And being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God comes, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God comes not with observation: nor will they say, Lo here! or there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is among you."¹ This view of the divine kingdom is incompatible with a visible return in splendour to set up and consummate it. We do not deny

¹ xvii. 20, 21.

that an external side is also presented ; but it is done in a peculiar way, as though the kingdom was not to be established by overwhelming power, but by inducing men to repent, and to practise the duties which God requires. The kingdom that Jesus inaugurated being mainly spiritual, its growth is gradual. So the parable of the tares teaches. During the present age of the world good and bad elements mingle till their final separation. Hence Christ said to the Pharisees, "The kingdom of God is already come unto you."¹ That it had come in the days of Christ himself, involves the idea of its spiritual nature and gradual increase till the consummation should effect the complete exclusion of bad ingredients from the midst of it. We believe that Jesus allowed the sensuous conceptions of his disciples to remain in many cases ; or, at least, that he corrected them indirectly. It is even probable that he *seemed*

¹ Matt. xii. 28.

to strengthen them by various statements which yet had a spiritual sense, and are delivered to us in a crass form through misapprehension on the part of the disciples. This conclusion is favoured by the difference between the synoptics and the fourth Gospel relative to Messianic conceptions.

(g) The variations of the synoptists in narrating the same discourse prove that we have not an accurate record of what was said. According to Matthew, the return of Jesus takes place immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem; whereas Luke, writing later and under altered circumstances, interposes the "times of the Gentiles," and, omitting Matthew's *immediately*, links the advent to those times by the mere conjunction *and*. Yet Luke did not think of the second coming as really distant, but only more so than the language of the first Gospel implies, because he wrote after the overthrow of Jerusalem. Luke also puts the persecutions of

the Christians before the wars and rebellions about to happen;¹ Matthew puts them after.²

(h) Matthew's narrative (chap. xxiv.) attributes incongruous words to Jesus, because the speaker says of the same event both that he does not know the time of its occurrence and that it will be before the lapse of the present generation. The statement in the thirty-fourth verse excludes that in the thirty-sixth; for the "day and the hour" mean only *the time*. It is also incorrect to say that the discourse passes from the fall of Jerusalem to the day of judgment at the thirty-sixth verse. No transition from type to antitype occurs there.

(i) The language, "whoso *reads*, let him understand,"³ referring, as it does, not to Daniel, but to the discourse itself, shows that the latter was written, for it belongs to the Evangelist, not to the speaker.

Such are some phenomena which lead to the

¹ xxi. 12.

² xxiv. 6-9.

³ xxiv. 15.

conclusion that the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew does not give a correct report of what Jesus said, but is in part the language of an apocalyptic comment written about A.D. 68 by a Jewish Christian. The document embodied in verses 4-35 has not its original form or extent in any of the Evangelists; but has been subjected to abridgement, alteration, and interpolation. Doubtless it contained authentic utterances, as is proved by internal evidence; though opinions may differ as to the exact sayings. Its genuine parts are best seen from a comparison of the passages where the three Evangelists nearly agree.¹

The result we have arrived at is, that Jesus repeatedly declared his speedy return even within the time of that generation; and that the phraseology in which this Messianic declaration

¹ Here belong Matt. xxiv. 4-8, Mark xiii. 5-9, and Luke xxi. 8-11; Matt. xxiv. 15-20, Mark xiii. 14-17, and Luke xxi. 20-23; Matt. xxiv. 29-35, Mark xiii. 24-31, and Luke xxi. 25-33.

was clothed, conveyed spiritual ideas under sensuously coloured images. It is improbable that he promised a visible and glorious advent within a brief period, since he had rejected the national side of the Messianic idea, retaining its spiritual essence alone. The predicted reign centred in *principles*. One who came to suffer and die, foreseeing that his mission was not to be accomplished in any other way, could not have consistently foretold his speedy return in heavenly splendour ; for had that been repeated in the hearing of his followers, how could they have lost all hope at his death? Whence their extreme dejection on that supposition? In progress of time his language was understood in the literal way to which the Jewish mind was prone. The disciples took this view all the more readily because it fell in with their hopes. As their belief received a rude shock from the Master's death leaving them for a time in solitary sadness, they caught at the

compensating hope of his speedy return; and by transferring their own ideas to him their courage was restored. This view was contained in the document taken into Matt. xxiv. 4-35, where it is made more definite by apocalyptic references out of the Old Testament and other sources. One thing is clear, that it is strongly tinged with the aspect of the times immediately preceding the war with the Romans in Judea. The spiritual advent which would be powerfully promoted by the destruction of the Jewish State, as he foresaw, was obscured by features derived from the current belief and the imagination of the disciples themselves.

Again, it seems certain that no authentic utterance of Jesus connected the destruction of Jerusalem with the end of the world. The places in which such junction appears are of later origin, the product of the time immediately before Jerusalem's destruction. The disciples asked the Master, "When will these things

be?" to which is added in Matthew, "And what will be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world;" in Luke, "And what sign shall there be when these things shall come to pass?" and in Mark, "And what shall be the sign when all these things will be fulfilled?" The words in Mark are authentic; the addition in Matthew, "and of the end of the world," is supposititious. The document used by the first Evangelist began with the signs of the coming and ended with the thirty-fifth verse.¹ He complicated the disciples' question by adding, the *end of the world* or of *the age*.

Assuming that the description given in the synoptics does not represent the real mind of Jesus, but that of the early Jewish Christians, let us see how the second advent is spoken of in other parts of the New Testament. The Revelation makes the time of return that in which Jesus should overthrow unbelieving

¹ Chap. xxiv.

heathenism (personified in Nero, whom the first Christians greatly feared because of his cruelty), and establish a kingdom whose citizens should enjoy uninterrupted happiness for a thousand years. The preparations for the final catastrophe are given in dramatic form, the language being borrowed from the Old Testament; but the standpoint differs from that of the synoptists. In the Revelation, the downfall of heathenism is pictured; in the synoptics, the destruction of Judaism. The Apostle John, writing before Jerusalem's overthrow, and at a time when the Christians had most to fear from heathenism, supposes the temple and holy city to be spared, while Rome and its head are utterly destroyed; whereas the original synoptists looked upon the catastrophe as a judgment inflicted by the returning Master upon the people with whom they had been brought into antagonism. Thus the apocalyptic and synoptic standpoints are different, though the sensuous

dress in which both clothe their descriptions is alike. The one makes the Messiah appear to destroy Jerusalem and then to judge all the nations; the other describes him coming to destroy heathenism in its metropolis, and then to reign with the raised martyrs for a millennium. Both describe a personal manifestation.

The fourth Gospel alludes to the same event in a different way from the apocalyptic and synoptical writers, for in it the coming is not so much an outward as an inward and spiritual thing. The disciples should see Jesus, the world should not. It is even said that *we*, viz. the Father and the Son, will come unto him that loves Jesus. The event seems to be resolved into the mission of the Paraclete,¹ though the Son and he are also personally distinguished. This view of the advent harmonizes with the spirit of the Gospel, whose author looks at things in a theological aspect, apart from Jewish

¹ John xiv. 23-26.

prepossessions. A visible return of Jesus in heavenly splendour disagrees with the conception of the *Word that was with God from the beginning*. Yet the writer's view is not consistent. He employs words bearing a carnal aspect, and again, such as have a spiritual one. His description is twofold, notable examples of which occur in the fifth and sixth chapters, sometimes in close succession, as here: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that hears my word, and believes him that sent me, has life everlasting, and comes not into judgment; but has passed out of death into life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, An hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that heard shall live. For as the Father has life in himself, so he gave the Son also to have life in himself. And he gave him authority to do judgment, because he is the Son of man." Compare with this the following: "Marvel not at this, that an

hour is coming, in which all that are in the tombs will hear his voice; and they that did good will come forth unto a resurrection of life, and they that wrought bad unto a resurrection of judgment.”¹ What, then, is to be said of the Evangelist’s real meaning? We believe that he inclined to take Christ’s coming for a spiritual one, because a sensuous representation does not agree well with the genius of the Gospel. When he wrote, the conflict of Christians and their opponents had shifted its ground. Instead of Judaism and heathenism, the new religion had to encounter gnostic speculations. Experience had also taught the necessity either of postponing the advent, or of dropping its Jewish shape and making it a spiritual phenomenon.

The localities and dates of the Gospels explain their different representations of the second advent. In Palestine, where the tradition con-

¹ See chap. v. 24-27 and 28, 29.

tained in the synoptics arose, the current doctrine of a solemn manifestation of Messiah was taken into the primitive Christian teaching ; in the Hellenistic theosophic atmosphere where the fourth Gospel originated, the advent lost its sensuous form, hovering between the real and ideal, but with a manifest inclination to the latter.

The First Epistle of John, as far as it touches upon the subject, disagrees with the Gospel. The day, indeed, is postponed ; Antichrist (*i.e.* persons who had left the Christian Church) had already come before the second advent ; false Christians, not false Messiahs as in the twenty-fourth chapter of the first Gospel, usher in the event ; but it is still a visible rather than a spiritual coming, as is shown by a comparison of two passages, "that whenever he be manifested we may have openness, and not be ashamed before him at his coming,"¹ "that we may have openness in the day of judgment."²

¹ ii. 28.

² iv. 17.

The event, as we have just said, took the shape which the historical relations of the times gave it. The earliest was a Judaic one, largely borrowed from the descriptions of Messiah's coming in the Old Testament, and from apocalyptic books. This is the form which it has in Paul's writings, the Revelation, and the synoptics, where the return and its accompaniments are portrayed in highly figurative colours, such as the blast of a trumpet, the New Jerusalem with its gorgeous splendour, the twelve seats surrounding the Almighty's throne, and a marriage supper where new wine is drunk. Jesus comes again as a king and conqueror after a victorious combat with Satan and his demon troops; a combat involving the total destruction of the present heathen world over which Satan presides. The victorious monarch, having put all enemies under his feet, is fit to be judge. In the fourth Gospel the outward and mythological dress is changed for one of

mystic obscurity. The sensuous gives place to the spiritual ; the objective and visible to the subjective and invisible. Time had given a different turn to the idea, shaping it in accordance with the later date and theological character of the work. The downfall of Judaism and heathenism, the overthrow of heretical tendencies within Christianity, are the successive phenomena attached to the advent. The idea of return shifted its attendant circumstances according to the stages of early Christianity.

The conclusion of the whole is, that the coming of which Jesus himself spoke was dynamic, implying that the gospel would assert its influence over the course of events, and its transforming power in the hearts of believers. He regarded it as near, and it was so ; though not the visible thing which the disciples expected.

The second advent is mentioned very briefly in the Apostles' Creed, " he shall come to judge

the quick and the dead." The Nicene has, "he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead." The Athanasian Creed says, "from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." The Westminster Confession contains the same tenet, though it is not expressly stated. The Augsburg Confession affirms that "in the consummation of the world, Christ shall appear to judge, and shall raise up all the dead, and shall give unto the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys," etc. The Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism have similar language. Thus the creeds propound as an article of faith Christ's visible return to perform certain functions. The apostles and early Christians looked for the event as near. That it was foretold in some form by Jesus himself cannot be denied; but if his expressions were misunderstood, as they probably were, the creeds are out of harmony with his meaning, though they agree with

that of his disciples. The teaching of the fourth Gospel on the subject is rational. He has come in his spiritual power over the hearts of men, and will come with greater effect in the future. The King of truth reigns with progressive illumination, shedding his beneficent light over a sinful world. The view that commends itself to the thoughtful, excludes a personal advent of Christ from heaven to earth. We agree with his own language rightly interpreted; not with that of most New Testament writers, which the creeds of the Churches repeat. The founder of Christianity came and promulgated principles capable of regenerating the world; and no future coming can be expected, unless the increased efficacy which those principles exert be called so. Swedenborg says rightly, "It is a vain thing to believe that the Lord is to appear in the clouds of heaven in person."

CHAPTER III.

THE RESURRECTION.

WITH the return of Christ is associated *the resurrection*. This is called *the anastasis from among the dead, the anastasis of the dead, or the anastasis*.¹ This is the rising of the soul from the under-world, or its emergence from the state into which it entered at death. Other meanings assigned to the word in the New Testament are incorrect, such as *the rising of the body out of the grave*.²

The teaching of Paul is that the awakening

¹ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν, Luke xx. 35; ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, Matt. xxii. 31; Acts xvii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 12; Heb. vi. 2; ἡ ἀνάστασις, Matt. xxii. 28; Acts xvii. 18; Luke xx. 33; John xi. 24.

² See Bush's *Anastasis*, chap. vi. p. 144, etc.

of the dead takes place at the return of the victorious Jesus: "The Lord himself will descend from heaven at a signal-shout, at the voice of an archangel and at the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first."¹ "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for it will sound, and the dead will be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."² "For the state we belong to is in the heavens, whence also we wait for as a Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, who will change the fashion of our body of humiliation, to be conformed to his body of glory."³ Sometimes this rising is ascribed to God, but that is tantamount to saying that it is effected by His Son.⁴

Does the apostle mean all the dead or the pious only? The question can only be answered satisfactorily after an examination of his lan-

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 16.

³ Phil. iii. 21.

² 1 Cor. xv. 52.

⁴ 2 Cor. iv. 14.

guage. Here the well-known passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians is of chief importance: "For as in the Adam all die, so also in the Christ will all be quickened. But each in his own order: the firstfruits Christ, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming; then the end, when he delivers up the kingdom to God and the Father, when he shall have brought to nought all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he put all the enemies under his feet."¹ The apostle draws a parallel between Adam and Christ. In the one all died, and in the other all shall be made alive. All shall not die, but all shall be quickened into new life. The same parallelism occurs in the Epistle to the Romans. Both passages are often supposed to favour the idea that the resurrection of the pious alone is alluded to. If Christ be the firstfruits, "*they that are Christ's* will be made alive at his coming."

¹ xv. 22-25.

The resurrection of the godless along with the pious is suggested in other places: "For we must all be manifested before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he did, whether it were good or bad."¹ The same sense appears more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, where Paul says, "There will be a resurrection both of righteous and unrighteous."² The latter place, however, cannot be taken as entirely credible evidence of Paul's sentiments, because the writer of the Acts gives a description of him which is partly unhistorical, being accommodated to a half Jewish-Christian standpoint. He is painted as one whose belief was not unlike Peter's, instead of the uncompromising advocate of righteousness independently of the law. The words in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which we have just quoted, show that the apostle had some conception of the resurrection of the

¹ 2 Cor. v. 10.

² xxiv. 15.

wicked, but that it probably occupied a subordinate place in his belief. He dwells upon the resurrection of the righteous, making no more than a passing allusion to that of the unrighteous. His mind was imbued with the Jewish belief; and the idea of a second resurrection was dimly apprehended. According to his description, the dead who are raised at Christ's coming, with the living believers in a changed form, partake of the security of his reign till the Son delivers up the dominion to the Father at the end of that reign, when the saints judge the world along with Christ, and pass over with him into the kingdom of God.

The Revelation makes the faithful dead to be raised first, that they may live and reign as priests of God and of Christ a thousand years, in Jerusalem. This is called *the first resurrection*. The rest of the dead are raised at the end of the thousand years. The Pauline view coincides with this in putting a period of Messianic

rule between the first resurrection and the end. It differs from it in filling up the intervening period with the subjugation of hostile powers ; whereas the writer of the Apocalypse represents it as a time of undisturbed blessedness. Paul's view also differs in leaving the duration of the period indefinite, instead of assigning to it a thousand years. In the one description, the opposition of enemies comes between the first resurrection and the end of the world ; in the other, the hostility is restrained for a thousand years and let loose again. The last resurrection may be presupposed in the phrase, "then the end ;"¹ for an interval is implied between the beginning and end of Messiah's rule. If such rule be marked by the putting down of all adverse powers, the resurrection of the ungodly precedes its close.

The Epistle to the Hebrews has but one mention of the resurrection, and speaks of the way

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

to the heavenly Jerusalem being opened up by Christ's death.

The synoptists allude to a resurrection of the righteous alone, followed by their enjoyment of the kingdom of Christ. The twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew's Gospel do not mention the resurrection. The elect spoken of there are the living who believe. In Jesus's answer to the Sadducees, he refers to the resurrection of the righteous, since they alone are "as the angels of God in heaven."¹ This is confirmed by the parallel passage in Luke,² who also speaks of the resurrection of the righteous. But though the synoptists do not mention the resurrection of the wicked, it is probably implied in the phrase, "the resurrection of the righteous," as also in the general judgment described in Matthew's Gospel. Plausible as is the view that the resurrection of the pious alone is recognized in the first three Gospels because it is the only

¹ xxii. 30.

² xx. 35, 36.

one *expressly* spoken of, the resurrection of the godless is *indirectly* referred to.

The view contained in the fourth Gospel differs materially from that of the Revelation ; for it has a twofold resurrection of the pious and the wicked to life and condemnation, at the same time. " An hour is coming, in which all that are in the tombs will hear his voice, and they that did good will come forth unto a resurrection of life ; and they that wrought bad unto a resurrection of judgment." ¹ This language is of an outward and sensuous nature, disagreeing apparently with the genius of the Gospel, so that Von Ammon would resolve it into figure. The verses in question illustrate the dualism of the Gospel. The spiritual aspect of the resurrection is the predominant one, though it does not satisfy all exegetical requirements of the record. It was the opinion of the Jews that the sound of either one huge trumpet, or of several blown by

¹ v. 28, 29.

angels was to awake the dead, and Paul's language accords ; in the fourth Gospel it is the voice of the Son of God that calls them forth.

We have now seen that there are two varieties of teaching respecting the resurrection. Paul's view is that the righteous and the wicked rise again, without specifying the interval of time between them ; while the Revelation separates the resurrections by a thousand years. The synoptists seem to refer to the resurrection of both classes together ; and the fourth Gospel favours the same view.

The nature of the *resurrection-body* is not specifically described, but the Apostle Paul has a passage in his First Epistle to the Corinthians relating to it, where he says, "So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption ; it is raised in incorruption : it is sown in dishonour ; it is raised in glory : it is sown in weakness ; it is raised in power : it is sown an unspiritual body ; it is raised a spiritual body.

If there is an unspiritual body, there is also a spiritual. So also it is written, The first man Adam became a living soul; the last Adam a life-giving spirit. Howbeit, the spiritual is not first, but the unspiritual; afterward the spiritual. The first man is of earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly: and even as we bore the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly."¹ Here we learn that the resurrection-body is incorruptible, not being composed of gross elements subject to dissolution or death; that it is a glorious and powerful body, without stain, weakness, or sickness; that it is spiritual, having perhaps a super-terrestrial luminousness. It is also intimated that the new body emanates from the old, as the plant does from the seed; and that it surpasses the former in perfection, as far as

¹ xv. 42-49.

the plant does the root whence it springs. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the new body is called *a building of God, an house which is from heaven*; ¹ that is, one of heavenly origin and make. The Epistle to the Philippians speaks of it as fashioned like to the glorious body of Christ; ² which accords with its being *changed* and putting on incorruption. It loses its present properties. The three passages allude to the righteous alone. And the First Epistle to the Corinthians speaks of *a change* in the bodies of those surviving the second advent; but it is not said that the bodies of the wicked will be changed.

The synoptists do not allude to the nature of the resurrection-body explicitly; but it has been thought that when Jesus says that the risen will be like the angels, *i.e.* without distinction of sex, his language implies that the raised have ethereal, luminous bodies, which do not decay

¹ v. 1-4.

² i. 21.

because they do not consist of gross matter. In anticipation of his glorified state, Jesus himself is said to have appeared to some of his disciples in a form of heavenly light. The Apostle Paul had a vision of him in some such shape.

The bearing of the fourth Gospel is ambiguous because of its dualistic character and incongruous elements. The words used in some verses of the fifth chapter have an outward and sensuous meaning—"all that are in the tombs will come forth"—but say nothing about the body itself. The spiritual aspect of the resurrection is predominant in this Gospel, and agrees best with its character.

The only teaching of the New Testament that bears directly on the subject occurs in Paul's writings, where the future body is called *spiritual*—that is, a refined, ethereal, impalpable substance; a bright envelope fitted for a tabernacle to the glorified soul. As to *the nature* of the germ whence the new body is formed,

probably the apostle did not think of it. If there be such in the present body, who can tell whether it is *material* or *ethereal*? The ancient Jews imagined it to consist of a certain bone they called *Luz*, which is unknown to anatomists; while Swedenborgians assert its immateriality.

Some resolve all the New Testament descriptions of the resurrection-body into a figure. But Paul's language does not favour that view. A moral resurrection does not satisfy all the requirements of the case. It agrees with most passages, and harmonizes with the verbs *to rise* and *to be raised*, as well as with the adjective *dead*: but the apostle's diction expressly refers to the nature of the risen body; and "all who are in the tombs," of whom the fourth Gospel speaks, favours the idea of the same body. Though we are said to rise from sin to righteousness, and to be dead by trespasses and sins, the resurrection of a body is attached by Paul to the visible advent of Christ.

The doctrine of the resurrection was unknown to Hebraism, and was probably borrowed from the Zoroastrian religion, of which it formed a genuine part ; though it appears in the Bundahish not the Avesta. There are intimations of it, however, in the stories of Elijah and Elisha raising the dead. The very corpse of the latter had the power to reanimate. These may be taken as foreshadows of the doctrine which was enunciated thereafter, showing the possibility at least of reunion between the departed soul and the body. In Isaiah, chapter xxvi. (written in the exile time), it occurs as a wish :—

“ May thy dead live, my corpses arise.
Awake and sing, ye inhabitants of the dust ;
For thy dew is the dew of life,
And the earth shall bring forth the shades.”—Verse 19.

Ezekiel describes it in a vision : “ The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, and caused me to pass by them round about :

and, behold, there were very many in the open valley ; and, lo, they were very dry. And he said unto me, son of man, can these bones live ? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest. Again he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones ; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live : and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live ; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. So I prophesied as I was commanded : and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above : but there was no breath in them. Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the

Lord God ; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army. Then he said unto me, son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel : behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost : we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God ; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves, and shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land : then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord.”¹

¹ xxxvii. 1-14.

These writers do not intimate the doctrine of the resurrection, but the restoration of the people to their former prosperity, in the metaphorical language of a resuscitation of dead Israelites. The passages contain imagery or allegorical illustration, without conveying a belief in the resurrection of the body; though Tertullian and Jerome comment upon Ezekiel's prophecy in another sense, and Gesenius's opinion of the passage in Isaiah is similar.¹ He is not followed, however, by Baumgarten-Crusius, De Wette, Strauss and Grimm.

The words of Job so often quoted² do not refer to the resurrection, for the argument of the poem would be vitiated by that interpretation. As to various passages in the Psalms, such as xvi. 10, 11, xlix. 15, 16, lxxiii. 23, etc., where it is thought that a hope or longing

¹ *Commentar ueber den Iesaia*, p. 805.

² xix. 25-27. See Davidson's *Fresh Revision of the English Old Testament*, pp. 54, 55, where the passage is translated and explained.

for life with God hereafter is expressed—though such interpretation is not certain, notwithstanding Hupfeld's advocacy of it—no conscious or settled belief is conveyed in them. It is rather an aspiration, an anticipatory reaching of the soul, a momentary outburst of that latent spark of the divine that inheres in humanity, which finds sudden expression in a desire of communion with the Infinite. Such a feeling, occasional and fleeting, cannot be converted into a dogma. It is but the opening of the spirit's mouth under a high inspiration.

Even in the late Book of Ecclesiastes, the lot of dead men and beasts is pronounced to be the same.¹ The words of the eleventh chapter consist with this, for the judgment spoken of there relates to the present life.² The same negative belief appears in some of the apocryphal books: "Who shall praise the Most High in the grave, instead of them which live and

¹ iii. 19.

² xi. 9.

give thanks. Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead as from one that is not: the living and sound in heart shall praise the Lord.”¹ “And why art thou against the pleasure of the Most High? there is no inquisition in the grave, whether thou have lived ten, or an hundred, or a thousand years.”² “Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore.”³ “The dead that are in the graves, whose souls are taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness.”⁴

The writer of the Book of Daniel is the first that teaches plainly the doctrine of the resurrection: “And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.”⁵ These words refer to the Jews alone. The same belief is enunciated in the Second Book of Mac-

¹ Eccl. xvii. 27, 28.

² Eccl. xli. 4.

³ Eccl. xlv. 14.

⁴ Baruch ii. 17.

⁵ xii. 2. See Gesenius's *Commentar ueber den Iesaia*, p. 805.

cabees : " It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him : as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life."¹ " For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead."² It is also in fourth Esdras, " Where-soever thou findest the dead, take them and bury them, and I will give thee the first place in my resurrection."³ " Remember thy children that sleep, for I shall bring them out of the sides of the earth, and show mercy unto them."⁴

After the doctrine of immortality had been enunciated in the second century before Christ among the Jews—and then but partially, for it is only in some of the apocryphal books⁵—it was natural to bring the body into union with the spirit again, because both seemed necessary to the true life of the person. At first, the resur-

¹ vii. 14.

² xii. 44.

³ ii. 23.

⁴ ii. 31.

⁵ In Wisdom and the Fourth Book of the Maccabees.

rection was deemed the privilege of the pious alone, who were to participate in the kingdom of God on earth. But the idea of retribution gave rise to an extension of the doctrine, so that the resurrection became twofold—all being taken into it. The godly Jews were raised at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom; the godless at the end of it together with the Gentiles. All Jews affected by Alexandrian culture were opposed to the body's restoration, because it was considered the source of sin. Hence Philo speaks of the blessed life of the soul when delivered from the prison of the body; and the Essene belief coincides.

The idea of a bodily resurrection was a Pharisaic one.¹ It came into New Testament times from *Judaism*, from the Jewish Church after the Babylonian captivity; for the original belief of the *Hebrews* was without either a resurrection of the dead or a continued life after

¹ Comp. Matt. xxii. 24, etc., with Acts xxiii. 6-8, xxiv. 15.

death. It was supposed that the dead go into Sheol, whence there is no return to life. Whatever that Sheol-state was, it was not *real life*; and the vivid language occasionally applied to it is only used to heighten the contrast between life and its shadowy semblance.¹ But it is not easy to reconcile Josephus's account of the Pharisees' belief with that given in the Acts of the Apostles; for he represents them as holding that souls after death go under the earth (to hades) for reward and punishment, whence the good may return to life and pass into other bodies.² As to the resur-

¹ Departed souls or the inhabitants of Sheol, are called *rephaim*, shades, weak, frail beings, like the Homeric εἴωλον ἀμαυρόν. The same word appears in Eshmunazar's tablet. (See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars prima, Tomus i., fasciculus primus, pp. 13, 14.)

² *Antiq.* xviii. 1, 3; *Jewish Wars*, ii. 8, 14. Grimm explains the apparent discrepancy of Josephus's statements and those of the New Testament by supposing that the historian used ambiguous language on purpose, not only because the hope of a resurrection was offensive to the Gentile mind, but because it was closely connected with Messianic ideas which he thought it prudent not to mention. (See his *Institutio Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Evangelicæ Historico-critica*, p. 468, note 5, editio secunda.) Bush imagines that the phrase μεταβαλεῖν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα, used

rection of the wicked, the Pharisees probably did not hold it, but thought the state in hades one of perpetual punishment, without return to life in a proper body. This agrees with the description of the intermediate place given in the sixteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel. Josephus says nothing about their passing into other bodies as in the case of the good, or their assuming bodies at all. Still the historian's language respecting the belief of the Pharisees is neither definite nor exact.

The doctrine of a bodily resurrection, though held by the Pharisees, was denied by many Jews and Christians. The Essenes rejected it, as well as the Sadducees. In *Abkath Rochel* (written by R. Makkir) the benefit of the resurrection is denied to the impious; and the same opinion is expressed in *Taanith*. Saadias denies the resurrection of the Gentiles. Some passages

by Josephus in explaining the Pharisees' belief *to pass into another body*, may perhaps yield the sense of a translation of the soul into an ethereal or spiritual body; but that is not its natural sense. (See *Anastasis*, p. 253 note.)

in the New Testament show that Christians were not wanting who agreed with them. The sects who thought matter inherently evil, such as the Gnostics and Manicheans, naturally refused to accept the resurrection doctrine, because they looked upon the body as a clog to the soul. Hence some spiritualized the idea, resolving it into a figure. The Alexandrian fathers gave it a half-spiritual form. The conjectures about the resurrection have been many.

Though the *anastasis* of the New Testament is the rising of the soul from the dead or the under-world, the Christian Church has referred it to the body. Biblical ground has been left, and a rationalistic one adopted. It was thought inconsistent with the nature of spirit and the idea of God that souls should be left for centuries in hades. Besides, the Apostle Paul speaks of a spiritual body as an envelope for the soul.

As far as the creeds allude to the resurrection, they presuppose the lying of the body in the

grave for a while—even until the second advent—and then rising. The Apostles' Creed specifies the *resurrection of the flesh*;¹ but the Nicene has instead, *the resurrection of the dead*. Whately justly remarks that “the resurrection of the body” is a phrase which occurs nowhere in Scripture. The Westminster Confession affirms that “all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same bodies, and none other, although with different qualities; which shall be united again to their souls for ever.” How little the change of qualities affects them appears from the statement of an old divine, who says, “Some marks of dishonour shall doubtless be impressed on their bodies, in that they shall be raised with all those natural blemishes and deformities which rendered them the object of contempt. That part which

¹ *Flesh* was first changed into *body* in 1543, in *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man set forth by Henry VIII*. See Heurtley's *Harmonia Symb.* p. 147. The Aquileian form has “*hujus carminis*,” *this flesh*; a grossly materialistic idea.

the body bore in tempting the soul to sin shall tend to its everlasting reproach."¹ The second Helvetic Confession condemns all that deny "a true resurrection of the flesh." The Belgic Confession states that "all the dead shall be raised out of the earth, and reunited with their proper bodies in which they lived." The Heidelberg Catechism says, "This my body raised by the power of Christ shall again be united with my soul, and made like unto the glorious body of Christ." Thus the creeds go beyond the Pauline doctrine. They merely give in concise language the opinions of the orthodox fathers, the schoolmen, and the Protestant theologians who succeeded Luther. The earthly body is restored with its constituent parts, hair, skin, entrails, pudenda, bones, and teeth : else how could there be gnashing of teeth in hell? asked Jerome. It is true that the hair raised a difficulty, because Christ had said, "Not an hair of your head shall

¹ Ridgley's *Body of Divinity*, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

perish ;” but Augustine found a sort of counter intimation in that the hairs of the head are numbered.¹ He supposed, therefore, that regard is had to the *number*, not the *length*, of the hairs, and that every deformity in the case of believers should be eliminated—even superfluous fat and excessive leanness.² Thomas Aquinas conjectured that though the intestines be restored, they will be filled with noble humours, not with base superfluities.³ Thus is a carnal interpretation pushed to absurdity. In asserting that the same body will be raised, personal identity is put into it along with the soul. But science tells us that the bodily organism undergoes perpetual change, so that the particles of which it is composed at one time are replaced by different ones at another. Whatever change of

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxii. c. 19, Opera, ed. Paris, vol. vii. p. 1085.

² *Enchiridion*, 90, p. 392, vol. vi. ed. Paris ; *De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 19.

³ *Summa*, iii. 80, 1, Supplem., “Intestina plena erunt non quidem turpibus superfluitatibus sed nobilibus humoribus.”

body is assumed, *the sameness* of the whole is thought to be unaltered. The difference between the creeds and Paul in regard to the body lies in *the identity of substance* supposed to continue, according to the former, while the *qualities* are altered; and the heavenly, ethereal, spiritual body sketched according to the latter. If immortality and incorruption belong to raised bodies including those of the wicked, as Paul's language implies, how can they be liable to suffering? And if material, how does that consist with qualities entirely different from the present?

Insuperable difficulties attend the reception of the doctrine as it is held by the Churches. These have been stated so often as not to need repetition.¹ Even on the supposition that the raised body is partially identical with the old one, the doctrine is liable to objection. Reason

¹ See Wegscheider's *Institutiones Theologiae Christianae Dogmaticae*, § 195, ed. 8, pp. 704, 705.

interposes its veto. It was a right advance in Christian consciousness to hold that the resurrection of the spirit takes place at death without undergoing a hades-state; but another step should have been taken, viz. its final parting with the old body at the same time. After the soul has advanced toward perfection through centuries or millenniums, why should its union with the body be thought desirable? Has it not already an ethereal covering? Can an earthly body suit the new relations of the soul? Does it not dissolve entirely in a few years? In view of these considerations, we hold that the doctrine of the resurrection presented in the creeds can only be accepted as a symbolic representation of immortality. In this light it is one of the factors in Christianity which tended to promote universal faith in that doctrine. The idea of immortality—of a new super-terrestrial life after death—has its negative and positive sides. The former is the hades-realm where

man still remains in a measure a denizen of the earth, to which he is bound by a tie he cannot loose ; the latter is the reception of a higher life-organism after death, so that he awakes to a purer consciousness in a more perfect state, unimpeded by earthly influences. In another view, the resurrection begins here, and is proceeding at every step of eternal life, wherever men are conscious of their true destination. Allied as it is to the consciousness of the divine, it has the same gradations, and marks the progress of humanity towards *the perfect* life. The true resurrection is not simultaneous, but successive ; it is a rising of the soul in the sphere of the spiritual world. The doctrine of the creeds, viz. that soul and body are reunited at the consummation of the world, is inadmissible. In affirming that it had taken place already, Hymeneus and Philetus, stripping off the materialistic form of the idea, had grasped its spiritual nature, recognizing its development

in the soul's forward movement towards closer union with God. Apelles also, the most prominent of Marcion's disciples, rightly denied the resurrection of the flesh, asserting that the redemption of Christ refers to souls only; a view which is more rational than that of Marcion's great opponent, who believed that the identical body will be resumed. The resurrection of the body is nothing more than a sensuous symbol of immortality. It is hard to conceive of pure spirit without an organ;¹ and we may therefore suppose that some pneumatic, ethereal, luminous clothing awaits it at death. The essential thing, however, is the indestructible continuance of life in a sphere adapted to progressive union with God. The old body is cast off; the spirit soars aloft into higher life.

¹ So, too, Leibnitz thought: "Spiritus intelligentia præditi sunt et corpore dissoluto persistunt; etsi ego quoque eo inclinem ut credam spiritus creatos etsi per se incorporeos, corpore tamen aliquo semper præditos esse."—Epist. ad Bierling, in *Epistola* ed. Kortholt, vol. iv. pp. 55, 56.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

WHAT is the condition of the dead till they rise again, according to the Scriptures? The second coming of Christ is represented as the decisive event for all. For it departed confessors long. Believers wait for it, and mourners are consoled thereby for the loss of friends. It is the general harvest of the world. If, therefore, the event be an object of general desire, neither the deceased nor those then alive have been perfected. They are in an incomplete state. The epithet applied to the departed is *dead*; and their emergence out of that condition is *a resurrection* from the dead, implying that

death, which had supremacy over them, gives place to life. The idea that *real life* does not belong to them prior to the resurrection is expressed in many places, and is involved in the apostle's reasoning in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where life in the next world is annexed to the resurrection. The argument for the necessity of a resurrection is superfluous if the previous state be one of life and happiness. The expression *sleep* is also inconsistent with it, and suggests the Jewish belief in Sheol. The Thessalonian Christians are not comforted with the declaration that their departed brethren are in the happy condition of fellowship with Christ in heaven, but are referred to the speedy advent of the Saviour, when they shall attain to a higher life.

The Hebrews supposed that *Sheol*, in the lower parts of the earth, was the common receptacle of souls freed from the body ; whither all, without distinction, went—good and bad, small

and great; a land of darkness, desolate and dreary, where the deceased sink into rest or quiet sleep, without the feeling of pain or pleasure, remembrance or praise of God. The inmates of this region are called the feeble or languid ones. The picture of them can be sketched but faintly from isolated passages in Job, Isaiah, and the Psalms,¹ and brings to mind the Homeric belief, according to which the spirit or *psyche*, after leaving the body, exists in hades with an unsubstantial human form, yet not entirely immaterial. The Greeks gave these shades more animation than they have in Hebraism,² like the description of them in the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah and the thirty-second of Ezekiel; but poetical exaggeration may explain the greater alacrity which these chapters attribute to the departed. The belief in question was

¹ Job iii. 13-19, vii. 9, x. 21, xi. 8; Isa. xxxviii. 18; Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, 10, xlix. 19, 20, lxxxviii. 11-13, xciv. 17, cxv. 17; Ecclesiastes ix. 10.

² See Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*, lib. i. 16, 17.

modified and supplemented in Judaism, owing to the contact of the Israelites with foreign peoples, and the unavoidable influence it exerted upon their modes of thought. It is true that most of the apocryphal books recognize no better future after death than that of the old Hebrews ; but Wisdom, Second and Fourth Maccabees, not to speak of the canonical Daniel, Philo, and the Essenes, show an advance.

According to Josephus, the Pharisees believed that souls pass immediately after death into *hades*, which is divided into two regions, paradise and gehenna. The righteous live again at the resurrection ; the rest are detained in their prison for ever. His words are, " They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards and punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life ; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former shall have power

to revive and live again.”¹ In another place he writes, “They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, and that the souls of dead men are subject to eternal punishment.”² This Pharisaic theology appears in the New Testament, though it is not easy to make Josephus’s statement of it agree with the latter.³ The parable of Dives and Lazarus refers to the hades-state. The poor beggar goes to Abraham’s bosom or paradise: that division of hades which is merely separated from gehenna by a cleft that does not prevent interchange of words between the spirits in either compartment.⁴ Abraham’s bosom is not *the paradise of God* or the third heaven,⁵ for the Jews had two paradises. The words of Jesus

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 1, 3.

² *Jewish Wars*, ii. 8, 14.

³ Acts xxiii. 8, xxiv. 15.

⁴ Compare Eisenmenger’s *Eutdecktes Judenthum*, vol. ii. p. 314, etc.

⁵ Rev. ii. 7; 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

to the penitent thief refer to the same place in hades;¹ and other passages favour this interpretation, as "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hades, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption;"² "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."³ Here the soul of Jesus is said to have been in hades. As God formerly exhorted by Noah unbelievers to repent, announcing the flood to them in case of disobedience; so Jesus proclaimed their redemption to human souls in hades. This arose from the idea that, as he is the Saviour of all, the dead themselves must be delivered from punishment. The Jews entertained a similar conception, by representing those in Sheol as participators of Messiah's beneficence.⁴ Accordingly, it was a common belief among the earliest fathers of the Church that Jesus freed the souls

¹ Mr. Jennings, in his thoughtful book on *The After Life*, denies this too hastily (p. 69).

² Acts ii. 27.

³ 1 Pet. iii. 19.

⁴ Eisenmenger, vol. ii. p. 364, etc.

shut up in hades by Satan, and destroyed his power by putting them into the heavenly paradise.¹ With this, which may be called the catholic doctrine, Marcion agreed in thinking that he descended to rescue souls from the power of the demiurge. By command of God he went down to hell and emptied it, taking with him the spirits which were there to his Father in the third heaven. The passages also in which he is called *the first-begotten of the dead, the firstfruits of them that slept*, imply that he was among the dead from his giving up the ghost till his resurrection.² Although, however, another paradise distinct from Abraham's bosom is spoken of as the heavenly locality into which the souls of martyrs had the privilege of entering before the resurrection, the language is fluctuating. Along with the words of Jesus to the penitent thief, we read that he commended his spirit into

¹ See Origen's *Comment. in Matt.*, tom. xiii. § 35.

² 1 Cor. xv. 20; Rev. i. 5; Col. i. 18.

the hands of his heavenly Father. So also the writer of the Acts applies the verb *fell asleep* to the death of Stephen, whereas he makes him say immediately before it, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The distinction between the two was indefinite; or, rather, the hades-paradise is Jewish, the paradise of God Christian.

It has been already intimated that the hades-state is probably meant when the pious dead are said to have *fallen asleep* or to *sleep* in Christ. This sense attaches to the Pauline passages—"they who fell asleep in Christ," "some are fallen asleep," "the firstfruits of them who have fallen asleep," "we shall not all sleep," "ignorant concerning them who are asleep."¹ Some think that the apostle afterwards expresses a different idea, when he writes, "We are well pleased rather to be from home out of the body, and to be at home with the

¹ I Cor. xv. 18, 6, 20, 51; I Thess. iv. 13.

Lord,"¹ exemplifying the shifting line of demarcation between the paradise of hades and the highest heaven. Here it is said that absence from the body is presence with the Lord. The context expresses a longing to be clothed with a new and heavenly body, that the spirit might not be left naked. The supposed difference of opinion between 2 Cor. v. 1, 8, and 1 Cor. xv. is probably non-existent, because the short interval between death and the resurrection at Christ's coming is disregarded or overleaped. Whether the apostle expresses a desire as one of those about to be changed at the second advent, or speaks of putting off his earthly body in death before that event, he is confident of having a new and heavenly body to put on at once. The brief space between death and the resurrection is ignored.

There are, however, places in the New Testament which convey the idea that the souls of

¹ 2 Cor. v. 8.

the pious ascend at once to Christ in heaven instead of going into hades. Thus we read in the Epistle to the Philippians, "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if to live in the flesh, this is to me fruit of work; and what I shall choose I know not. But I am in a strait betwixt the two, having the desire towards departing and being with Christ, for it is very far better."¹ In the apostle's view dying was tantamount to being with Christ. We also read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Ye are come near . . . to the spirits of the righteous made perfect, and to Jesus, Mediator of a new covenant,"² etc., implying that the spirits of the righteous made perfect were not in hades, but had already attained to the kingdom of God in union with Christ. A parallel in the preceding chapter confirms this interpretation, where "receiving the promise"³ is synonymous with "being made perfect." In like manner, the dying

¹ i. 21-23.² xii. 22-24.³ xi. 40.

Stephen, beholding Christ standing at the right hand of God, exclaims, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,"¹ and so expects to be with Christ in heaven immediately after death. Thus three passages speak of the spirit's presence with Christ as soon as it leaves the body, instead of its going into hades. Zeller thinks that they refer to martyrs, not to Christians generally;² and the explanation is plausible, because it was an early belief that martyrs had the privilege of going to God at once instead of to hades. This suits the language of Stephen, and probably that in the Epistle to the Hebrews; for the verb rendered *made perfect* is used in the same Epistle of consummation through suffering and martyrdom. But the view scarcely suits the passage in the Philippian Epistle. The apostle was a martyr, it is true; but did he regard himself as such? We need not, however, be soli-

¹ Acts vii. 59.

² *Theologische Jahrbücher*, sechster Band, p. 403.

citous about finding in Paul a consistent theology. The belief in the martyrs' privilege just mentioned was an early one, and may have been transmitted from the first century to the second. It is attested by the writings of the apostolic fathers, by Clement,¹ Polycarp,² and Ignatius.³ It was also held by Tertullian⁴ and Cyprian.⁵

The belief in the hades-state appears in the

¹ It is said of Peter, ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης; and of Paul, ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη.—*Epist. ad Corinth.* ch. v.

² After mentioning three martyrs and Paul, the writer of the Epistle to the Philippians says, οὗτοι πάντες . . . εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, φῶς καὶ συνέπαθον.—*Epist. ad Philipp.* ch. ix.

³ "Ἀφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βορὰν, δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν.—*Epist. ad Romanos*, ch. iv. "Ἀφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἔσομαι.—ch. vi.

⁴ "Nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes Dominum nisi ex martyrii prærogativa, scilicet paradiso non inferis diversurus."—*De Resurrectione Carnis*, ch. 43. "Tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est."—*De Anima*, ch. 55.

⁵ The confessors write: "Quid gloriosus quidve felicius ulli hominum poterit ex divina dignatione contingere, quam inter ipsos carnifices in ipso interitu confiteri Dominum Deum . . . quam relicto mundo cælum petiisse, quam desertis hominibus inter angelos stare? quam impedimentis omnibus secularibus ruptis in conspectu Dei jam se liberum sistere? quam coeleste regnum sine ulla cunctatione tenere?"—*Epist.* 31, p. 62, ed. Fell.

Johannine writings. The twentieth chapter of the Revelation makes the martyrs live again a thousand years before the rest of the dead ; indicating that they did not live before, but were in hades with those about to participate in the second resurrection. The vision of the redeemed triumphantly singing praises before God's throne does not teach the contrary, because the scene is an intercalary one between the sixth and seventh seals, anticipating the final blessedness.¹ The same remark applies to another passage in the Revelation, which is also an intermediate scene.² Neither is part of the historical development ; both are anticipatory. Though the redeemed are described as being in the presence of Christ before the resurrection, in the twentieth chapter ; what is really represented is their state after it.

The language of the fourth Gospel seems at first sight not to differ materially, for life is

¹ vii. 9-17.

² xiv. 1-5.

attached to the resurrection, not to the beginning of the state after death: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, An hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that heard shall live."¹ But other places seem to speak differently: "In my Father's house are many abodes; otherwise I would have told you, for I go to prepare a place for you;"² and, "Father, I will that what thou hast given me, even they may be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me."³ Does not this language convey the idea of immediate transference to heaven? It does not indicate *when* believers will come into the Father's many abodes, or be perpetually in Christ's presence; neither does it expressly exclude an intermediate state. This observation holds good in regard to "the going" mentioned in chap. xiii. 36-38, with reference to viii. 21. Nothing is said here

¹ v. 25.² xiv. 2.³ xvii. 24.

about Peter's following Jesus immediately after death. Still the language points in the direction of heaven as the soul's abiding-place when it leaves the body. Such is its natural import ; and force is used to make it consist with an intermediate state. We conclude that the Gospel, as a whole, favours the idea of the spirit's immediate passage at death to the mansions of heaven. The anti-Judaic character of the work suits the omission of hades, which Philo calls a myth.

The New Testament notices of the hades-state, to which reference has been made, give but an indistinct view of its nature. Pious souls in it seem more active and feeling than they are represented to be in the Old Testament. Their existence is not so thin, shadowy, or cheerless as to be without a degree of enjoyment. Though said to sleep and rest, though no work can be done, Lazarus is comforted. Troubles and sufferings belonging to the earthly life are forgotten in present emotions.

Hades remained an article of belief for some centuries after Christ. It was held by Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus. Tertullian writes, "Every soul is sequestered in the lower regions till the day of the Lord."¹ Justin says, "The souls of the righteous abide in some better place; but the unrighteous and wicked in a worse, waiting for the time of judgment."² Irenæus writes, "Souls go into the [invisible] place ordained for them by God; and go about there until the resurrection, waiting for the resurrection."³ "Even of those reputed to be orthodox, they step over the order of the promotion of the just, and have heretical thoughts in them."⁴ Lactantius says, "All souls are detained in one common custody till the time comes when the Sovereign Judge will make an examination of their merits."⁵

¹ *De Anima*, chap. 55.

² *Dialog. c. Tryph.* 5.

³ *Ad. Hæres.* v. 31, § 2.

⁴ *Adv. Hæres.* v. 31, § 1.

⁵ *Div. Instit.* vii. 21.

But it is not our intention to adduce the opinions of the fathers in the early centuries of our era. They were not alike; some implying that souls go at death into hades; others that the soul passes at once into heaven when it leaves the body. The latter view was that of the Alexandrians. Origen held it; so did Gregory of Nazianzus. It was not, however, the prevalent one; though Huidekoper asserts the unanimity of the early Christians in maintaining their exemption from hades, and presses into that category both Justin Martyr and Irenæus.¹ It should be noticed, that the direct departure of the soul into heaven, which some fathers advocate, agrees with its going into hades; one part of this region being identified with paradise, and paradise being heaven. As Baumgarten-Crusius and Hase say, paradise, from being a locality in hades, was gradually

¹ *The Belief of the First Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Under-world*, p. 116, etc.

glorified into heaven. The statement of Huidekoper, that "in the second and third centuries the Christians as a body deemed themselves exempt at death from the under-world, and regarded this exemption as a privilege peculiarly their own,"¹ cannot be accepted as correct. *Martyrs* alone had the privilege of exemption from hades, not the general body of Christians; and this belief prevailed till the fifth century. Tertullian, far from being the only father who thought that souls pass at death into hades, is a representative of the common opinion.

The intermediate state has found supporters in modern times. Burnet advocates it in his treatise on the state of the dead; and it may be said to exist in the form of *the sleep* which Socinus,²

¹ *The Belief of the First Three Centuries*, etc., p. 112.

² "Tantum id mihi videtur statui posse, post hanc vitam, animam sive animum hominis non ita per se subsistere ut præmia ulla pœnasve sentiat, vel etiam ista sentiendi sit capax." —Epist. v. ad J. Volkelium, *Epistolæ*, p. 489; *Racovia*, 1618.

Archdeacon Blackburne, Bishop Law, Priestley, and Whately imagined. It is also maintained by Rothe, who supposes it to be a region in which existence is predominantly elementary; the souls of the righteous being prepared for a higher condition, and those of the wicked having a possibility of turning, both with bodily envelopes suited to their natures.¹

If we separate Christ's descent into hades from that of ordinary mortals—and there is no necessary connection between them—the former appeared in the so-called Apostles' Creed,² whence it was transferred to the Augsburg Confession, the Formula of Concord, and the third Article of the English Church. The disputes about the mode and object of it, especially after the Ham-

¹ *Dogmatik*, zweiter Theil, zweite Abtheilung, § 132, p. 327, etc.

² Rufinus says that the Apostles' Creed had at first only *sepultus est*. The clause *descendit ad inferos* or *inferna* appeared first in the Latin Creed of Aquileia, in the fourth century, on account of the Apollinarian controversy. It was transferred into the Roman form of the Apostles' Creed after the fifth century.

burg theologian Aepinus, in the sixteenth century, contended that it was his soul only that descended into the lower regions, were foolish. Calvin and most of the reformed theologians explained the descent figuratively of the sufferings on the cross, a view that appears in the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms. Luther and many of his followers were inclined to take the statement literally;¹ the latter supposing that the entire person, consisting of his human nature, went to the prison of the damned to triumph over the devil and his angels.

With regard to an intermediate state for men in general, most creeds reject it. The usual statement about the righteous is, that their souls are taken into heaven immediately after death; while those of the wicked are cast into a place of torment. The Heidelberg Catechism says, "My soul after this life shall be immediately

¹ See Huidekoper's *Belief of the First Three Centuries*, etc., p. 166, note 6; and Koenig's *Lehré von Christi Hoellensfahrt*, pp. 153, 154.

taken up to Christ its Head." The Helvetic Confession affirms that "the soul separated from the body neither sleeps nor perishes." The Westminster Confession asserts, "The souls of the righteous being then [after death] made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens. . . and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell." The Irish Articles of Religion (A.D. 1615) say that "after this life is ended the souls of God's children be presently received into heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable comforts ; the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, there to endure endless torments." The Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory is rejected by the Protestant creeds.

The hades-state was an imperfect foreshadow of immortality. In adopting it, Christianity continued the idea till it was more clearly developed under the influence of Plato's philosophy and the progressive thought of the Church. The creeds have rightly set it aside. It was a Jewish in-

heritance, and could not be retained. An intermediate state, either one like hades, or of a purifying nature, can hardly be supported by reason. The doctrine of development in the Christian Church justifies the rejection of it.

Though the modern ecclesiastical creeds which have laid aside a hades-state were influenced by opposition to the Romish purgatory, it does not follow that they are wrong on that account. Whoever rejects a bodily resurrection and an external judgment at some future period, whoever also disowns Millenarianism, will consistently refuse to accept an *intermediate* state of preparation for a higher one. It is sufficient to rest in the idea of spiritual evolution, without perplexing oneself about peculiar stages, states, or places for the soul when it leaves the body. As the old belief of a subterranean world has been dissipated by the knowledge of the earth being a solid globe revolving in space, it is hazardous to locate spiritual beings here-

after in regions whose nature is unknown, or to speculate on the means of their progression. The old Egyptian Book of the Dead, with its purgatory of souls and complicated arrangement of different stages, exemplifies the folly of prying into man's future.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAST JUDGMENT.

A *judicial* process is connected with Christ's return and his awakening the dead. This idea comes from the Jewish expectation that Messiah should subdue the Gentiles. When he was to appear, all peoples hostile to the Israelites were to be visited with condemnation. The notion is expressed in Micah and Isaiah.

But Judaism usually assigned the judgment to God. It is not attributed to Messiah in the Book of Daniel, though he is represented there as a superhuman being coming in the clouds of heaven.¹ The judgment assigned to Messiah

¹ vii. 13, 14.

by the prophets is connected with his princely rule and government, and is rather a continued office among or over the nations than a solemn act of final adjudication completed once for all. Later Judaism sometimes presents Messiah as Judge, at other times Jehovah himself. The apocryphal books which announce a judicial condemnation of the Gentiles attribute it to him,¹ as do the Targums and Talmud. The Book of Enoch does the same. The *mother-text* of Scripture, as Mede calls it, to which all the descriptions of the great day of judgment refer, is the vision described in the seventh chapter of Daniel, where the great assize is portrayed after the manner of Israel's Sanhedrim, in which the Ancient of Days had his assessors, sitting upon seats placed in the form of a semicircle before him.²

According to the New Testament, the judg-

¹ Wisdom iii. 8; Judith xvi. 17; Baruch iv. 30-35.

² vii. 9.

ment will take place in the presence of angels "When the Son of man shall have come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then will he sit upon the throne of his glory."¹ Again, "At the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, with angels of his power."² The business of the angels will be to separate the righteous from the wicked, and assign their future abode to each class respectively. Neither the place nor the duration of the judgment is specified. The word *day* which is applied to it signifies no more than a definite period ; not a common day of so many hours.

Christians participate in the judgment. "Verily I say unto you, That ye who followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory, ye also will sit upon the twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."³ Again, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?"⁴ This language sug-

¹ Matt. xxv. 31.

² Matt. xix. 28.

³ 2 Thess. i. 7.

⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 3.

gests the idea of believers being exempted from judgment.

Paul's view of the judgment is not clear. Some passages in his writings imply that it will be passed upon all men, Jews and Gentiles, believers and unbelievers alike; for we read in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, "We must all be manifested before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he did, whether it were good or bad."¹ But the apostle believed in a first and second resurrection, the righteous becoming assessors at the judgment of unbelievers. Perhaps this idea of the righteous being assessors with Christ in the judgment is not inconsistent with the fact of their prior reception into blessedness. In expressing the idea of a general judgment including both classes, he may not have thought of the seeming incongruity of the one being assessors at the

¹ 2 Cor. v. 10.

condemnation of the other. It is a noteworthy fact that the criterion which decides the fate of all is not faith but works.

The Book of Revelation introduces the judgment at the end of the millennium. And who are the persons judged? They are the dead, small and great. Do these dead include the righteous; or are they merely such as persecuted the Christians, that is, the heathen? Some particulars favour the universality of the judgment, its inclusion of Christians and non-Christians; for the dead are the *small and great*: the book of life is opened with others, and every man is judged according to his works. On the other hand, those of the first resurrection are already exempt from the second death. The description is a reproduction of Joel's,¹ when the heathen are gathered together in the valley of decision for their final overthrow on the day of Jehovah. The Judaic character of the Reve-

¹ iii. 11, etc.

lation agrees best with the partial nature of the judgment, at which the righteous may be considered mere spectators of the wicked's destruction.

The synoptic representation is somewhat obscure. Luke speaks of "the resurrection of the just,"¹ implying apparently that of the unjust ; but he does not refer to the judgment at the same time. The principal passage relating to the latter is in Matthew ; but it is variously explained. "When the Son of man shall have come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then will he sit upon the throne of his glory : and before him will be gathered together all the nations ; and he will separate them one from another, as the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and will set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then will the King say unto them at his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the

¹ xiv. 14.

kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat : I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink : I was a stranger, and ye received me : naked, and ye clothed me : I was sick, and ye visited me : I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then will the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee ? or thirsty, and gave thee drink ? when saw we thee a stranger, and received thee ? or naked, and clothed thee ? and when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee ? And the King will answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me. Then will he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, accursed, into the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat : I was thirsty, and ye gave me not to drink : I was a stranger, and ye received me

not : naked, and ye clothed me not : sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then will they also answer, saying, When saw we thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then will he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these the least, neither did ye it to me. And these will go away into everlasting punishment : but the righteous into everlasting life.”¹

What is the judgment here described? Is it of non-Christian or heathen, or of Christian peoples? Is it partial or general? The phrase “all the nations” commonly means the Gentiles ;² and this is favoured by the simplicity of the test which the Judge applies, as well as the unconsciousness of the service shown to him. The Jews are supposed to exist no longer as

¹ xxv. 31-46.

² According to Professor Bush, the original word occurs 164 times in the New Testament ; in some of which it is rendered by “Gentiles,” in others by “nations,” by “heathen,” or by “people.” (See *Anastasis*, p. 295, note.)

a distinct people; and so "all the nations" include good and bad in general. Thus the judgment is universal. This interpretation accords with the words of Matthew's Gospel: "And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in all the world for a witness unto all the nations; and then will the end come."⁸ It also agrees with another passage in the same Gospel: "And he answered and said, He that sows the good seed is the Son of man, and the field is the world; the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom; but the tares are the sons of the evil one; and the enemy that sowed them is the devil; but the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are angels. As therefore the tares are gathered together and burned with fire, so will it be in the end of the world. The Son of man will send his angels, and they will gather together out of his kingdom all the stumbling-blocks, and them that do iniquity, and will cast

⁸ xxiv. 14.

them into the furnace of fire : there will be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth.”¹ It also agrees with parallel words in the same Gospel : “The angels will come forth and separate the evil from among the righteous, and will cast them into the furnace of fire : there will be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth.”² The language of another chapter is of the same import : “For the Son of man is about to come in the glory of his Father with his angels ; and then he will reward every one according to his works.”³

This view differs from that of Georgii,⁴ who argues that “the all nations” gathered before Christ are non-Christian or heathen peoples including righteous and unrighteous persons ; such as are kind or charitable to disciples of Christ, and those who neglect them in distress. But it is difficult to believe that non-Christians

¹ xiii. 37-42.

² xiii. 49, 50.

³ xvi. 27.

⁴ See the *Tübingen Jahrbücher*, vierter Band, p. 16, etc.

could be addressed as individuals for whom the kingdom of God had been prepared from the foundation of the world. Our view also differs from that of Grotius and Meyer, which limits the judgment to Christians, and consequently implies the universality of Christianity. All the nations of the earth, not excluding the Jews, are supposed to have adopted the religion of Jesus. A universal judgment of good and bad at the end of the world, depicted in other parts of Matthew's Gospel, does not agree with this interpretation. Neither does the usual acceptance of the phrase "all the nations," which is commonly descriptive of the Gentiles or heathen, and, though not excluding Christians, cannot be restricted to them.

We assume that the judgment is the same with that alluded to in different places of the New Testament as taking place in the end of the world, or the general resurrection. It is true that the resurrection is not mentioned

in Matt. xxiv. and xxv. ; but a comparison with other passages shows that the description applies to the judgment of living and dead : though this is denied by Bush, who resolves the judgment into *an extended period of judicial administration* ; as well as by Rothe, who thinks that the judgment of which the Gospels speak, especially Matt. xxv. 31-46, is restricted to those alive at Christ's second coming, being merely the commencement of his millennial kingdom on earth. Both opinions are out of harmony with the language of the first Gospel, as interpreted by statements of the sacred writers elsewhere. It is possible to find two judgments in the New Testament, one at the first resurrection and the other at the second ; the former embracing the separation of the living alone, the latter the dead and those alive at the time : but the Apostle Paul, who alludes to both, does not attach a solemn judgment to the first.

The idea of a universal judgment expressed

in the Gospels is like the Pauline one; and it coincides with the description given in the Revelation.

The fourth Gospel presents a different view of the judgment. According to it, the process is not a solemn outward act which Christ performs at his second coming, but a subjective one developed within himself by each individual. "And if any one shall hear my words and keep them not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejects me, and receives not my words, has one that judges him: the word that I spake, the same will judge him in the last day."¹ "He that believes on the Son of God is not judged; he that believes not has been judged already;"² both being in man's own heart. Those born from above, who drink the water which Jesus gives them, who eat his flesh and drink his blood, who continue in his word, are partakers

¹ xii. 47, 48.

² iii. 18.

of the kingdom of God. The judgment is not so much a future as a present one; for the writer's ideas were more spiritual than those of the other Evangelists, and he avoids millenarian notions.

A different view is presented in the First Epistle of John, where Christ comes as Judge.¹ As an external visible judgment at the last day is absent from the fourth Gospel, the discrepancy between it and the first Epistle implies different authorship.

In other parts of the New Testament it is merely stated that Christ will judge *the quick and the dead*.

The creeds of the Churches agree with Paul's teaching, in affirming that Christ will come in person to judge the quick and dead. The Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds use this language. The Westminster Confession says, that "not only the apostate angels shall be

¹ ii. 28, iv. 17.

judged, but likewise all persons that have lived upon earth." The Belgic Confession is more precise than the rest, in stating, "Then the books (that is to say, the consciences) shall be opened, and the dead judged according to what they shall have done in this world, whether it be good or evil. Nay, all men shall give an account of every idle word they have spoken, which the world counts only amusement and jest; and then the secrets and hypocrisy of men shall be disclosed and laid open before all."

We have just seen that the New Testament commonly describes the judgment as an external act or process, something to happen at a certain time, conducted by Jesus as a manifestation of His redemptive power. Being a personal transaction, it is impossible to take it allegorically; for the expressions, though borrowed from a human tribunal, must not be entirely resolved into figure. It is true that all details need not be pressed, and that the writers them-

selves did not mean them to be understood literally; but the essential part remains. The idea conveyed by the sacred authors is that of a visible act. How, then, is it to be understood? If men be already separated at death, why should they be subjected to another act of dividing. That were to rejudge them. It is difficult to suppose an adequate reason for a second judgment, though it be attended with outward solemnity. In the light of reason the whole is merely a symbolical representation. The judgment is divine, because it accords with an immutable law agreeably to which virtue is rewarded and vice punished. Christ is Judge so far as man's goodness or badness is measured by the pattern of his life, and by the strength his spirit gives for reaching perfection. In one sense we judge ourselves, conscience accusing or acquitting; but an objective standard is also set before us. The judgment-seat of Christ and his solemn condemnation or acquittal of men may

be said to symbolize the award accorded by "the moral sense" supposed to be active in the true Church of Christ.

The two eschatological scenes known as the return of Christ and the general judgment are in reality the sensuous representation of a spiritual process which is always operative in the life of the Church, separating believers and unbelievers. The discerning faculty assumes a form in which imagination supplies details of the letter not the spirit, when it projects itself upon an external canvas. Both scenes are the objective presentation of a spiritual and continuous sense. The fourth Gospel presents them in an appropriate way, by describing Christ's return as a coming in his spirit, and the judgment as an exclusion from everlasting life in communion with him. It gives an unsensuous representation.¹ In regarding the judgment as

¹ Comp. John xiv. 14-24, xvi. 16-28, and iii. 18-21, v. 24, viii. 15, xii. 31, 47.

mental, we agree with Origen, who refers it to an internal act—a presentation of the Judge to the inner vision, and a vivid recollection of all transactions in the past life, which God effects instantaneously within the soul.¹ In like manner, Thomas Aquinas finds it more probable that the judgment is altogether mental. Our sentence is really passed before our graves are dug.

¹ Tom. xiv. in Matt., vol. i. p. 627, ed. Migne.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RESURRECTION STATE: REWARDS AND
PUNISHMENTS.

ACCORDING to the language of Scripture, the resurrection state is everlasting. The second advent determines the fate of all, when the righteous and wicked are consigned to their respective abodes for ever. That the happiness of the former will not end, expositors admit without question. It is plainly asserted in the New Testament ; and it accords with the best feelings of humanity. The state is described in various ways. It is *everlasting life* or *life* absolutely, the *kingdom of God*, a *reward* or *treasure in the heavens*, a condition in which the redeemed are

as the angels of God in heaven, a kingdom, an inheritance, the inheritance of the saints in light, a crown of righteousness or of glory, a native or heavenly country, an abiding substance, glory, peace, sabbatism, the heavenly Jerusalem, etc. "The righteous will go away into everlasting life;"¹ "He that is righteous, let him do righteousness still."² The predicate *æonian* or everlasting, which is applied to the punishment of the wicked, has been a source of dispute; some saying that it means nothing more than an indefinitely long time either in the past or the future, so that we have only to assume a punishment long continued. The suggestion has also been made, that the word belongs to the Jewish description of the Messianic kingdom; *æonian* life and condemnation being mere states in the æon or age to come. The adjective, with its equivalent expressions in Hebrew, often means *relatively* not *absolutely*

¹ Matt. xxv. 46.² Rev. xxii. 11.

eternal. By itself, therefore, the predicate is not decisive. To be a clear conveyancer of the one sense or the other, it must be taken with its surroundings.

The following passages are adduced in favour of the opinion that hell-torments are absolutely eternal:—

(a) One predicate is applied to the life of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked, Both are *æonian* or *everlasting*. A necessary rule of interpretation requires that the same word should have the same signification in both clauses of a verse.¹ “These will go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into everlasting life.”² We are told, indeed, that the

¹ “Si utrumque æternum, profecto aut utrumque sine fine diuturnum, aut utrumque sine fine perpetuum debet intelligi. Pari enim relata sunt, hinc supplicium æternum, inde vita æterna. Dicere autem in hoc uno eodemque sensu, vita æterna sine fine erit, supplicium æternum finem habebit, multum absurdum est. Unde quia vita æterna sanctorum sine fine erit, supplicium quoque æternum quibus erit, finem procul dubio non habebit.”—Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi. c. 23.

² Matt. xxv. 46.

rule does not hold good in the phrase "let the dead bury their dead;" but the example is not analogous to that in Matthew's Gospel. The difference between the literal and figurative use of a word is unlike the difference between an adjective in its primary and in its restricted significations. The assertions of Canon Farrar about this argument are contrary to correct exegesis; and his saying that it "is absolutely no argument," is absurdly strong. The passage he refers to in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 25-26), where the adjective *æonian* occurs twice, and cannot mean "everlasting" in one of the clauses, is not analogous, because its signification is limited in that clause by the noun (*times*) to which it is joined. Some stress is also laid upon the Greek word translated *punishment* (Matt. xxv. 46), which is said to mean *corrective*, not *vindictive*, chastisement; but the niceties of classical, should not control those of Hellenistic Greek, especially in the case of a word rendered

out of Aramæan.¹ The same Gospel mentions the being "cast, or departing into, the everlasting fire;"² called also "unquenchable fire."³

(b) We read in Mark's Gospel that the punitive fire shall not be quenched, and that the worm of the condemned shall not die. "And if thy hand cause thee to offend, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having the two hands to go away into hell, into the fire unquenchable. And if thy foot cause thee to offend, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life halt, than having the two feet to be cast into hell. And if thine eye cause thee to offend, cast it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye,

¹ See *Eternal Hope*, excursus iii. pp. 199, 200.

"If the words *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* are applied sixty times (which is the fact) in the New Testament to designate the *continuance* of the future happiness of the righteous, and some twelve times to designate the *continuance* of the future misery of the wicked, by what principles of interpreting language does it become possible for us to avoid the conclusion that *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* have the same sense in both cases?"—Moses Stuart.

² See xviii. 8, xxv. 41.

³ iii. 12.

than having two eyes to be cast into hell, where their worm dies not, and the fire is not quenched. For every one shall be salted with fire. Salt is good : but if the salt become saltless, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another.”¹ In the same Gospel we read, that “whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit has never forgiveness, but will be liable to everlasting sin.”² It has been said that this punishment applies to one particular sin, without reference to sinners in general. The parallel passage in Matthew’s Gospel, “Whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that to come,”³ has been softened so as to admit of a milder sense than the literal one, by Chrysostom, De Wette, and Rothe in different methods ; but its obvious sense is that of eternal punishment.

(c) The expression “abides on him,”⁴ spoken

¹ ix. 43-50.

² iii. 29.

³ xii. 32.

⁴ John iii. 36.

of the wrath of God on the unbeliever, involves continuance without end. It is possible, however, that the verb *abides* means here the *certainty* of punishment, rather than the metaphysical idea of eternal duration.

(d) In the seventh verse of Jude's Epistle, the adjective *æonian* is interchanged with another in the sixth verse, which is more specific.¹ But it may be objected that the writer speaks of evil angels not of men, and of the time before judgment.

(e) We read of the worshippers of the beast and his image in the Revelation that "the smoke of their torment goes up for ever and ever."² This may be no more than a poetical exaggeration. In like manner, "If any one was not found written in the book of life, he was cast into the lake of fire."³ The nature of this lake is seen from a preceding verse, where we read that the beast and the false prophet are in it, "tormented

¹ *aiðios*.

² xiv. 11.

³ xx. 15.

day and night for ever and ever." Again, "The fearful, and unbelieving, and polluted, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all the liars, shall have their part in the lake which burns with fire and brimstone: which is the second death."¹

(f) The Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of "everlasting (æonian) judgment,"² and the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians of "everlasting (æonian) destruction."³

The passages adduced favour the doctrine of eternal punishment—the declarations of Christ in particular. It is, indeed, possible to explain them otherwise, by taking *æonian* in its later sense, or softening the language by means of the context; but the apparent meaning is that of never-ending torment.

It is Rothe's opinion⁴ that Christ nowhere

¹ xxi. 8.

² vi. 2.

³ i. 9.

⁴ *Dogmatik*, zweiter Theil, zweite Abtheilung, § 47, p. 133, etc.

asserts the endlessness of hell-punishment ; but the mode of proof and the interpretation of single passages adopted are liable to objection. It may be that much the greater part of the Redeemer's expressions do not refer to the pains of the condemned after the final judgment, but generally to such as died in a condition of exclusion from redemption, or to persons alive at his advent without reference to the judgment and the change consequent upon it. That he used such strong words with allusion to the wicked in hades is an evidence in favour of the eternity of hell torments *wherever* souls are supposed to be, or in whatever period of time they were consigned to their region—*after* the general judgment or *before* it. The distinction has no important bearing on the question unless it be shown that hades-gehenna or hell, allows the reformation of wicked souls. If they continue there unrepenting, the distinction is useless, because the epithet *eternal* covers

both times. The belief of the Pharisees which then prevailed contained the endless punishment of the wicked.

It is difficult to get a definite view of future punishment out of isolated passages in the New Testament, particularly a correct explanation of Christ's words, not only because we cannot easily distinguish his authentic utterances from those of tradition, but because allusions to the paradise and hell of hades do not clearly separate the corresponding regions into which the souls of the good and bad pass in the end, at the general consummation. Consistency of view may be got by the sacrifice of correct interpretation respecting the Redeemer's sayings; but we must guard against the propensity to make up a harmonious representation.

The fact that Christ spoke in Aramæan not in Greek, is not without its influence upon the present question, and should modify undue insistence upon epithets and words. His language

was probably intensified in the process of transference from Aramæan into Greek. As he often spoke in pregnant and proverbial sentences, the literal sense should not be urged, else it may be exaggerated. And the difficulty of ascertaining what he actually said must always be considered; for the reporters attribute to him what he did not utter. The later recording of his short existence on earth, and the passing of his deeds and words through varieties of oral tradition, make it all but impossible in some cases to know his real sentiments. In any case it does not consist with his loving spirit to limit the possibility of salvation to the few years of this life. Intimations of a mild view on his part have been found in the words, "Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the last farthing;" but the figurative sense of the passage in which *the prison* is identified with *hell* is more than doubtful; as is also any interpretation of Matt. xii. 32, which

makes it imply that there is forgiveness of sins in *the world to come*.

It must be admitted, that the apologetic remarks now offered are insufficient to expel the idea from Christ's words. If it was entertained both by the Pharisees and Essenes, was embodied in the book of Enoch as well as other pre-Christian writings, and manifestly prevailed among the Jews, the inference is reasonable that the great Teacher accepted it. It is true that the general tendency of his teaching was not in harmony with the everlasting punishment of the wicked; but there is a distinction between fundamental conceptions and current notions which were simply acknowledged. Though the process of separating them is difficult, some accommodation may surely consist even with the wisdom of one who spake as man had not done before. If the condescension be more than formal—and that it is so seems probable—it cannot be so extensive as Semler thought. Denied it may be

that the strongest testimony to the doctrine of everlasting torment appears in the reported language of Christ ; but exegesis disowns the denial.

Passages which do not admit of Rothe's explanation but have another sense, are brought into juxtaposition with the language *æonian fire* or *punishment, unquenchable fire, hell, where the worm dies not, for ever and ever*, etc., to give it a laxer acceptation. The words *destruction, perdition, corruption, perishing, death, the second death*, and the like, are taken to imply annihilation, so that the impenitent wicked cease to be. They are literally destroyed, and perish for ever. This interpretation, ingeniously advocated by Rothe, is even brought into the declarations of the Redeemer himself ; for when he emphatically teaches that whosoever eats his flesh and drinks his blood has true sustenance and lives for ever, also that he who believes in him, eating his flesh and drinking his blood, will be raised up at the last day, the infer-

ence is drawn that *only* the person who does so will enjoy such privileges. But the reasoning is precarious. The doctrine of annihilation should not be lightly assumed, because it is counter to that of the soul's immortality. Why should the expressions *destruction, death, perishing*, etc., be resolved into annihilation? Was that idea current at the time? All probability is against the supposition. We believe that the phraseology harmonizes with the stronger one which clearly means *endless* punishment; not that it softens the latter, or introduces the idea of non-existence into it.

The annihilation-doctrine is confessedly an old one, but that does not make it more acceptable. We are reminded by its ablest advocate after Weisse, that Hermas and Arnobius, with several Socinians in modern times, supposed that the misery of the condemned ceases with their annihilation by almighty power; as also that Whiston, Bourne, Marsom, and others

thought of the wicked being gradually consumed by the force of their punishment and finally extinguished ; but such hypotheses are no satisfactory settlement of the subject. It is hazardous to deny the probability of amelioration in the condemned, as Rothe does, or to discredit the soul's natural immortality by showing the insufficiency of its proof.¹ True, God alone has immortality in himself ; but is it improbable that in imparting to man a soul, a divine principle allied to his own nature, he gave a never-dying entity ? Final impenitence may seem not only possible but likely when the earthly lives of many are surveyed ; but why should we limit the grace of God, or think that multitudes were created merely to work evil and pass out of existence ? Does He create human beings with the full knowledge of their little period of wickedness succeeded by annihilation ? Is the spiritual

¹ *Dogmatik*, zweiter Theil, zweite Abtheilung, § 48, p. 149, etc.

nature of man, related as it is to the Infinite, reflecting the divine image and therefore of transcendent value, doomed to extinction? That is improbable. The superhuman germ cannot be so fleeting. The Scripture speaks of degrees of punishment even after the judgment, but a perpetual blank has none.¹ There is no reason to suppose that Omnipotence will ever annihilate anything. All analogy is against it. Neither science nor theology knows it. All that can be admitted is *change* of substance or form.

The opinion of Lipsius is plausible, viz. that the words *destruction, death*, and the like, which are chiefly Pauline, show a view of the wicked continuing in hades without hope of a resurrection, which is equivalent to *eternal death*—that is, a shadowy existence in the under-world, not absolute extinction; but we fail to see the correctness of this interpretation.

¹ See Dorner's *System der christlichen Glaubenslehre*, zweiter Band, pp. 971, 972.

The fourth Gospel has more appearance of favouring the notion of extinction than the synoptics, because Christ speaks in it of giving eternal life, and identifying such life with belief in his person. As the contrast between life everlasting and perishing is frequent, the inference has been drawn that perishing, being the opposite of life, is death everlasting. Two considerations, however, are adverse. This Gospel cannot be taken for a genuine record of the Redeemer's sayings; and the writer, imbued with Alexandrian philosophy, must have believed in the immortality of the soul. Hence *annihilation* should not be imported into his teaching.

(g) Some of the Pauline writings intimate the final restoration of all men—a united world coincident with the kingdom of God, in which there will be no hell along with heaven. The classical passage on the subject is in 1 Corinthians: "As in the Adam all die, so also in the

Christ will all be quickened.”¹ Here the *all* is equally extensive in both clauses; the death of all is in Adam, the resurrection of all to life is in Christ—that is, a resurrection to blessedness. The words of another Epistle are similar: “God shut up all into disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all.”² In like manner we read, “Accordingly, then, as through one tres-

¹ xv. 22. The passage has been variously understood; but we believe that the restoration of all is implied in it. (See De Wette's exposition.) Rückert argues (translated by B. B. Edwards and republished in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xxxvii.) that Paul contemplates physical death in connection with Adam, physical life in connection with Christ. But the idea thus attributed to him is singular, viz. that believers and unbelievers will be raised bodily “in the Christ,” *i.e.* by virtue of their connection with him as Head. The commentator, however, introduces a limitation into *the all* who are awakened by Christ, by means of which the apostle is made to think only of those who are united to Christ, and to speak of their physical restoration. The limitation drawn from the context bears upon the signification of the second *all* in order to confine it to believers; but though the writer proceeds to speak of that class in what follows the twenty-second verse, the phrase “in the Christ” shows that *all* is unlimited, and that restoration to spiritual life is the prominent idea. It is vain to appeal to the *δέ* and the *ἕκαστος* succeeding, as if they did away with universality by their “corrective” and “dissective” powers.

² Rom. xi. 32.

pass the result was unto all men to condemnation ; so also through one righteous act the result was unto all men unto justification of life : for as through the disobedience of the one man the many were constituted sinners, so also through the obedience of the one will the many be constituted righteous.”¹ The many who are made sinners and the many made righteous are naturally coextensive. Such language agrees with the consummation spoken of in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where, after Christ shall have subjected himself and his kingdom to the Father, *God will be all in all*. No disturbing element will then appear ; all shall be united in the one kingdom of the Father.

A similar notion about universal restoration is expressed in the post-Pauline Epistles. In that to the Ephesians we read, “According to his good pleasure which he purposed in himself for the dispensation of the fulness of the times, to

¹ Rom. v. 18, 19.

gather together for himself all things in Christ, the things which are in the heavens and the things which are on the earth, even in him."¹ The gathering together of all things in Christ may include both rational beings and the physical creation. It may be said, however, that such gathering is consistent with the punishment of wicked men, because the latter tends to secure the final triumph of God's reign. We read also in the Epistle to the Colossians, "And through him to reconcile all things unto himself, having made peace through the blood of his cross; through him, whether they be things on the earth, or things in the heavens."² Here Christ's reconciling power is extended not only to all men but to the angels. The utmost width is given to it. The language presupposes the restoration of mankind to the divine favour. These post-Pauline Epistles express the idea more plainly than the apostle's own writings.

¹ i. 10.² i. 20.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from such teaching? Along with the usual doctrine of eternal punishment, there are unmistakable traces of a more liberal view. As the Apostle Paul speculates on the doctrine of divine grace, and speaks out of the depths of his Christian consciousness, viewing the universe as the theatre of God's moral government, he sees dualism disappear in complete unity. Perhaps this germ of thought was an undeveloped one; for the two-fold end of all things was conformable to his legal education, and prevails in his teaching. The same *antinomy* appears here as in other parts of the apostle's system where there are dualisms; for example, in his predestination-theory contained in Rom. ix.-xi. But though varying views are expressed by one who, from being a Pharisee, became a prominent instrument in promoting the gospel of God's grace in Christ, they sometimes terminate in complete unity; the divine will comprehending all in the govern-

ment of a homogeneous universe. These *antinomies* are characteristic features, which should be allowed to stand side by side, indicating speculative tendencies in which one step leads on to a higher, until the alleged twofold will of God merges in one counsel to bestow universal favour.

The Epistle to the Hebrews describes the state of the condemned as one of torment by fire: "If it bears thorns and briars it is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned;"¹ "There remains no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment and a fiery indignation, about to devour the adversaries."² It is also called "everlasting judgment,"³ and those subjected to it appear to be identical with the blasphemers of the Holy Spirit who shall never be pardoned, according to Christ's declaration. This language cannot be interpreted with Rothe by the word *destruction*⁴ occurring

¹ vi. 8.² x. 27.³ vi. 2.⁴ x. 39.

in the context, in such a way as that the condition merges in annihilation.

The same sense, too, cannot be fairly extracted from a passage in the First Epistle of John, where we read, "And the world is passing, and the lust thereof: but he that does the will of God abides for ever."¹ Is it not arbitrary to identify the world that passes away with the future of the impenitent wicked, even though he that does the will of God abides for ever? The noun means *worldly life*, the life which is concentrated in the world.

The endlessness of future torment has always been a stumbling-block to thoughtful minds, and different ways of relief from its repulsiveness have been anxiously sought. It has been supposed, for example, that the punishment is *hypothetically* eternal—that is, if the wicked do not amend. Thus room is left for individuals who repent to pass into happiness. In favour

¹ ii. 17.

of it the words of Lactantius are adduced.¹ Others suppose that the punishment is *relatively* eternal—that is, it lessens in the measure and degree of the wicked's improvement. This is the opinion of Schott, Niemeyer, Wegscheider, and others. The advocates of *conditional immortality* have found another way of escape from the direful doctrine, by asserting that the Word was made flesh that man may live eternally. Such as believe in him have eternal life; such as do not believe perish for ever. This hypothesis has been already dealt with. Presupposing two untenable things, viz. that man is mortal by nature, and that annihilation exists in God's creation, it may be left to the fate of all tenets which contradict the deepest instincts of humanity. The Bible may be used for its support; but such support can only be got by an ingenious manipulation of language.

¹ "Iram divinam manere in æternum adversus eos qui peccant in æternum; eos, qui peccare desinant iram Dei mortalem facere."—*De Ira Divina*, c. 21.

The hypothesis may seem to rest upon declarations contained in the fourth Gospel ; but the words of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew express the idea of body and soul's everlasting reality in the case of the wicked. No doctrine which denies man's immortality claims the acceptance either of intelligent theists or devout Christians.

We allow that the teaching of the New Testament on the subject sets forth *eternal life* rather than a metaphysical immortality of the soul ; and that the argument for the latter proposed by Plato is invalid. Ethical conceptions are not capable of strict proof. But the *teleological* and *moral* arguments are weighty. The belief developed among Christians under Platonic influence became a proper part of the Church's faith. Intimations of it are naturally found in the writings of the Platonizing fathers ; whence it was subjected to formal proof by Thomas Aquinas,¹ and by the school of Wolf following

¹ *Summa Theologiae*, pars i. quæst. 75, articulus 6.

Leibnitz's ideas about *monads*; though Kant rightly thinks it "a postulate of practical reason" which is theoretically undemonstrable.

Modern science may find fault with all arguments favourable to natural immortality, professing its inability to say more on the subject than Schleiermacher's words, "amid finiteness to become one with the Infinite, and eternal at every moment;"¹ but that is a poor total for humanity to be reduced to—a vague idea incapable of such realization as sustains the life of a rational being, with its aspirations, hopes, desires, and fears. Few will prefer absorption into the Universal Spirit as a solution of the problem, to the moral arguments of Kant and Reimarus, or even to the inferior compensation one of Athenagoras and Calvin. Love, that divine feeling within us, desires and demands another state in which reunion will make amends

¹ *Reden ueber die Religion*, p. 264, sämmtliche Werke, vol. i. (See Strauss's *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, vol. ii. pp. 738, 739.)

for rent union, and the link broken by death be repaired. The agonies suffered, the wounds inflicted on the spirit by the diseases and departures of those around whom affection was entwined, cry out for the renewing of that pure emotion which allies us to God himself. The field and scope of love, shall it not be enlarged in a state cramped by no conditions of imperfection or change? Philosophy may throw doubt upon such yearning, science may call it a dream; but there is in humanity what is above and beyond science—the language of the heart, whose voice speaks in tones which echo through eternity. A conscious future can hardly be eradicated either by the slow process of evolution or by the speculations of pessimists; the logic of the heart within its sacred shrine refuses to be extinguished.

The hope of individual immortality, if it is not a manifestation of the divine consciousness in man, is at least allied to it, being a deep-

seated expression of the distinctness of the *I*—a longing anticipation of satisfaction in the Infinite, a peculiar reaching of the spirit towards its un-created source. Instead of having nothing to do with the God-consciousness, it is in close affinity with it. Science may call it incredible, saying that man dies like every other animal, because he is the product of slow evolution from matter ; but there are things above the proofs of science. Manifestations of a higher life unrecognized by materialistic philosophers, a life which is neither the refined outcome of organization nor its necessary dependent, hopes proceeding from the inmost soul, point to a future existence. Yearnings that cannot be stifled, an imperious hunger that nothing earthly can satisfy, a craving of irresistible potency, indicate the existence of a spiritual principle of divine origin. Who can believe that it is only the creation of physical energies? A certain philosophy characterizes consciousness as a want,

or a dissatisfaction with what it has, and an essential evil on that account. On the contrary, its projective power precludes a future of supreme peace; not an unconscious rest or extinction like Gotama's and Schopenhauer's; but a state in which the best faculties of the ego shall have continuous development. We reject the position laid down by Schleiermacher that there is an *un-pious* way of assuming the continued existence of the person, as there may also be a *pious* way of renouncing it.¹ True Christian piety requires it.²

Some philosophies, after all, imply a denial of the soul's immortality. Pantheism—that is, such immanence of God in the world and the human spirit as neglects or does away the distinction between them, so that God becomes identified with the world as one whole—does so. Hegelianism and Schellingism are adverse to it.

¹ *Der Christliche Glaube*, vol. ii. p. 473, fünfte Ausgabe.

² See Bretschneider's *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, zweiter Band, § 164, p. 357, etc.; Ritter's *Unsterblichkeit*; and I. H. Fichte's *Die Seelenfortdauer und die Weltstellung des Menschen*.

Though attempts have been made by some advocates of these systems to explain their consistency with the belief of immortality, we must assert that all forms of pantheism—Spinoza's, Fichte's, Schelling's, and Hegel's—reject immortality. In this respect they belie the best instincts of human nature, being the daring speculations or wild dreams of men attempting to sound the infinite with their puny line.

The expressions employed in the Bible do not entirely settle the question of everlasting punishment, though they favour it. If a specific sense be attached to words, never-ending misery is enunciated. On the presumption that one doctrine is taught, it is the eternity of hell-torments; and those who maintain such to be the Bible statement have valid arguments on their side.¹ Bad exegesis may attempt to banish it from the New Testament Scriptures,

¹ See Philippi's *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre*, vol. iii. p. 372, etc.

but it is still there ; and expositors who wish to get rid of it, as Canon Farrar does, injure the cause they have in view, by misinterpretation. Of the two methods resorted to for putting the tenet out of the New Testament, the annihilation hypothesis is more plausibly supported by language. Both, however, must be rejected.

The strong language, *everlasting destruction, everlasting punishment, unquenchable fire, perdition of ungodly men, destruction and perdition*, and the like, may be taken for *annihilation* or ceasing to be, and the adjective *æonian* may be modified ; but that interpretation is unsatisfactory. It is impossible fairly to eliminate the eternity of hell-torments from the following passages—"to be cast into the everlasting fire ;"¹ "the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels ;"² "these will go away into everlasting punishment ;"³ "whosoever

¹ Matt. xviii. 8. ² Matt. xxv. 41. ³ Matt. xxv. 46.

shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit has never forgiveness, but will be liable to everlasting sin ;”¹ “to be cast into hell, where their worm dies not, and the fire is not quenched.”² If the words of Jesus in these places be correctly reported, he taught the doctrine of everlasting punishment.

The Apostle John, in the Revelation, who must have known the mind of the Master, uses language of the same import, when he says that whoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire, where the beast and false prophet “are tormented day and night for ever and ever.”³ It will be said, perhaps, that the Greek terms put into Christ’s mouth, and the figurative language employed, should not be insisted on ; while the fact that his authentic sayings must be separated from the traditional ones incorporated in the Gospels should be kept in mind. His general teaching,

¹ Mark iii. 29.

² Mark ix. 48.

³ Rev. xx. 15, 10.

at least, scarcely agrees with the never-ending misery of many human beings, for it rests on an ethical basis. Can his doctrine be less excellent than Zoroastrianism, in which the eternity of evil disappears, and immortal life prevails in the renovated universe, dualism being merged in unity.¹ It must be allowed, however, that the New Testament record not only makes Christ assert everlasting punishment, but Paul and John. In opposition to Rothe, we hold such interpretation to be more natural than that which substitutes the annihilation of the wicked for their perpetual torment.

The question should be looked at from a larger platform than single texts—in the light of God's attributes and the nature of the soul. If the natural immortality of the soul be denied, religion has no resting-place; and if the fatherhood of God be limited, how can he

¹ See Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, vol. v. pp. 181, 182, English translation; and *Pahlavi Texts*, translated by E. W. West, part i. pp. lxxix., lxxx., introduction.

be worshipped in truth?¹ The destination of man and the Creator's infinite goodness, conflicting as they do with everlasting punishment in hell, remove it from the sphere of rational belief.

The doctrine was a Jewish one. Josephus gives it as held by the Pharisees: "They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them; and that under the earth there will be rewards and punishments according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again."² Again: "They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, and that the souls of bad

¹ The proofs of the soul's immortality may be seen in Bretschneider's *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, zweiter Band, § 164, p. 357, etc.; and in I. H. Fichte's *Die Seelenfortdauer und die Weltstellung des Menschen*, 1867.

² *Antiq.* xviii. 1, 3, ἐργῶν ἀθίων προστίθεσθαι.

men are subject to eternal punishment.”¹ It was also held by the Essenes, who were firm believers in the soul’s immortality, and thought that the bad suffer never-dying punishment after their death.² Philo has the same doctrine: “The man of noble descent, who has adulterated the coinage of his noble birth, will be dragged down to the lowest depths, being hurled down to Tartarus and profound darkness.”³ It is also in the Psalms of Solomon.⁴ Indeed, the Jews generally seem to have entertained the belief at the time of Christ. It is in the Targum of Jonathan on Isa. xxxiii. 14, and lxxv. 5. But the doctors of the Jewish academies formulated a milder opinion, which R.

¹ *Jewish Wars*, ii. 8, 14, ἀθίω τιμωρία κολάζεσθαι. A belief in the wandering of souls, which Josephus’s words imply, was entertained by Jews as early as the eighth century. Compare *תנחומים*, c. 6, § 7.

² *Ibid.* ii. 8, 11, ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν.

³ Ὁ δ’ εὐπατρίδης παρακόψας τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐγενείας ὑποσυρήσεται κατωτάτω, πρὸς αὐτὸν τάρταρον καὶ βαθὺ σκότος ἐνεχθεῖς.—*De Execrationibus*, vol. ii. p. 433, ed. Mangey.

⁴ *Comp.* iii. 13, xv. 13, 14.

Akiba's influence raised into prominence. According to him, the duration of punishment does not exceed twelve months after death.¹ Yet the Talmudic doctors are not decided in their views; neither affirming nor denying the eternal duration of torment, but leaving the matter free to individual judgment. The liberal view has prevailed since the time of the Mishnic teachers; some saying that souls are there but a short time—a month, several months, twelve months, or longer. The twelve months' duration is the commonest opinion, being in *Sohar*, in the *Nishmath Chayim* of Manasseh ben Israel, and in *Yalkut Simeon*. But Ibn Ezra held that the souls of the wicked perish with their bodies. Thus belief about the future is not uniform. Sometimes the Israelites are represented as exempt from hell, an opinion that appears in the tracts *Erubin* and *Chagiga*; at other times, they who sinned, both Israelites and Gentiles,

¹ *Edoyot*, ii. 10.

go into that abode for twelve months, as is said in *Rosh Hashana* and *Yalkut Simeon*. Of the three classes into which men are divided, good, bad, and intermediate, the Talmud and Sohar make the souls of the good go into paradise immediately at death. The bad are thrust into hell. The middle class pass through fire to be purified, or wander through other bodies. Sinners are punished in hell for twelve months, after which their bodies pass away, their souls are burnt, and the wind scatters them, to be trod beneath the feet of the righteous, as it is written in Mal. iv. 3. But the souls are not annihilated. Sinners are not usually put in hell for ever, but undergo a change for the better, or are released by the intercession of some pious Israelite. Everlasting punishment is the lot of heretics (*i.e.* Christians), traitors, and epicureans, who deny the law and reject the resurrection of the dead.¹

¹ See *Rosh Hashana*, fol. 17, col. 1.

Church creeds commonly accept the endless punishment of the wicked along with the perpetual happiness of the good. The Athanasian says, "They that have done evil shall go into everlasting fire;" and the order for the burial of the dead speaks of "the bitter pains of eternal death." The Westminster Confession states that "the wicked who know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into eternal torments, and be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." The Augsburg Confession says that "Christ shall condemn ungodly men and the devils unto endless torments." The second Helvetic Confession affirms that "the unbelieving or impious shall go down with the demons into Tartarus to burn for ever, and never to be delivered from torments." The Irish Articles of Religion say that souls are cast into hell, "there to endure endless torments." The Eighth Article of the

Evangelical Alliance declares "the eternal punishment of the wicked."

It can hardly be questioned that the wicked shall receive the reward of their deeds after death, just as the righteous are recompensed with happiness ; but it is impossible to tell the nature of the punishment. Because fire is mentioned as an element in the former, many suppose it to be material fire,¹ which is inconsistent with the nature of spirit. The fire must be figurative, meaning perhaps remorse ; the pangs of memory meditating on the past. These, together with the low state of moral purity at death and the necessarily tedious advance to a state of enjoyment, may be the chief ingredient in punishment. Whatever be

¹ So Buddeus : "Nec enim dubium quin ignis cujus in cruciatibus damnatorum mentio injicitur, proprie sic dictus intelligendus sit, sed talis qui in corporibus hominum, qualia post resurrectionem futura sint, agere, et dolorem in illis, sine eorum destructione, excitare potest."—*Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae*, ii. 3, 16. Whiston has the same opinion, *Eternity of Hell Torments Considered*, p. 109.

its nature, it is *reformatory*. This idea was entertained of old. It is in the writings of Origen, who thought that the fire of torment is cleansing, in conformity with the doctrine of universal restoration realized after long periods of purification. He even ventured to say that the last enemy, the devil, should cease at some indefinite time; not cease to exist, but to be a devil and the enemy of God.¹ In like manner, Scotus Erigena looked to a period when vice and evil should cease, grounding the hope on the negative nature of evil.² The idea is reflected in *the purgatory* of Gregory the Great, where the souls of those who have committed venial sins go after death that they may be prepared for heaven.

The descent of Christ into hades, spoken of in the First Epistle of Peter, shows that spirits shut up in the place of condemnation expe-

¹ *De Principiis*, iii. 6, 5, p. 388, vol. i. ed. Migne.

² *De Divis. Nat.* v. 28, p. 264, ed. Oxon, 1681. See also Strauss's *Die Christliche Glaubenslehre*, vol. ii. p. 639.

rienced the redemptive power of Christ, and were delivered from punishment. The dominion of the devil and his angels over lost souls was destroyed through his preaching. The writer expresses a singular but charitable notion adverse to the belief of the never-ending torments of the damned ; though some orthodox Lutherans, disliking such benevolence, try to turn it aside by the distinction of a *legal* and *convicting*, not an *evangelical* preaching, as if Christ merely convinced the condemned of the justice of their incarceration ! It is a very small improvement to represent the preaching both as *saving* and *condemnatory*, which Athanasius and Calvin do. Why should it include both ? Did not Christ come to proclaim eternal life ? Professor Bush's notion is as visionary as the rest : viz., Christ descended merely to *announce* the impending event of the resurrection and ascension to the departed saints who had long been expecting it, and to provide himself from that number with

a retinue to accompany him to heaven.¹ The Gospel of Nicodemus has a better description of the descent, making Christ conquer Satan, and bring the dead out of their dismal abode into paradise. The idea is a Jewish one. It was thought that Messiah would redeem condemned Israelites from hell.²

The "divines of a cruel and fiery temperament," who are "extremely pleased with eternal and infinite torments,"³ cannot endure softening expressions, and draw out the state of the unrighteous into detail, painting it with horrid colours.⁴ Their logic pleases themselves at least,

¹ *Anastasis*, p. 224.

² Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. ii. p. 364.

³ See Dennis's translation of Burnet, concerning the state of departed souls, p. 358.

⁴ The following are specimens of their desires: "The damned shall find in hell a *prepared fire*, the like to which was never prepared by human art. 'Tis a fire of God's *own* preparing, the product of infinite wisdom on a particular design, to demonstrate the most strict and severe divine justice against sin, which may sufficiently evidence to us the inconceivable exquisiteness thereof. . . . The things God *hath prepared* against those who hate him are great and terrible beyond what men can either

though it be harsh and horrid.¹ We shall not disturb the meditations of such theologians

say or think of them. . . . Their minds shall be filled with the terrible apprehensions of God's implacable wrath, and whatever they can think upon, past, present, or to come, will aggravate their torment and anguish. Their *will* shall be crossed in all things for evermore. What they would have they shall not in the least obtain, but what they would not shall be bound upon them without remedy. Hence no pleasant affection shall ever spring up in their hearts any more; their love of complacency, joy, or delight in any object whatsoever shall be plucked up by the roots; and they'll be filled with hatred, fury, and rage against God, themselves, and their fellow-creatures, whether happy in heaven or miserable in hell as they themselves are. They'll be sunk in sorrow, racked with anxiety, filled with horror, galled to the heart with fretting, and continually darted with despair, which will make them weep, gnash their teeth, and blaspheme for ever. . . . Their natural affection will be extinguished. The parents will not love their children, nor children their parents. The mother will not pity the daughter in these flames, nor will the daughter pity the mother. The son will show no regard to his father there, nor the servant to his master, where every one will be roaring under his own torment." —Boston's *Human Nature in its Fourfold State*, p. 588, etc., ed. 1720.

"Conceive this alone to which St. Paul says human nature of itself went, hatred of God, intrinsic hatefulness, hatred of one another. Gather in one in your mind an assembly of all those men or women from whom, whether in history or in fiction, your memory most shrinks (no fiction can reach the reality of human sin); gather in mind all which is most loathsome, most revolting, the most treacherous, malicious, coarse, brutal, inventive, fiendish cruelty, unsoftened by any remains of

upon the damned, neither do we envy their feelings. The infinite lovingkindness and

human feeling, such as thou couldst not endure for a single hour ; conceive the fierce fiery eyes of hate, spite, frenzied rage, ever fixed on thee, glaring on thee, looking thee through and through with hate, sleepless in their horrible gaze ; felt if not seen ; never turning from thee, never to be turned from, except to quail under the like piercing sight of hate ; hear those yells of blaspheming, concentrated hate, as they echo along the lurid vault of hell ; every one hating every one, and venting that hate unceasingly with every inconceivable expression of malignity ; conceive all this, multiplied, intensified, reflected all around on every side ; and, amid it, the especial hatred of any one whose sins thou sharedst, whom thou didst thoughtlessly encourage in sin, or teach some sin before unknown—a deathlessness of hate were in itself everlasting misery.”—Pusey’s *Sermon on Everlasting Punishment*, 1865.

“ Perhaps at this moment, seven o’clock in the evening, a child is just going into hell. To-morrow evening at seven o’clock, go and knock at the gates of hell, and ask what the child is doing. The devils will go and look. Then they will come back again and say, *the child is burning!* Go in a week and ask what the child is doing ; you will get the same answer—*it is burning!* Go in a year and ask ; the same answer comes—*it is burning!* Go in a million of years and ask the same question ; the answer is just the same—*it is burning!* So, if you go for ever and ever, you will always get the same answer—*it is burning in the fire!* ”

“ Look at that deep pool of fire and brimstone. See, a man has just lifted his head up out of it. He wants to ask a question. He speaks to a devil who is standing near him. He says, ‘ What a long time it seems since I first came into hell ! I have been sunk down in this deep pool of burning fire. Years and

mercy of God disown the notion of putting the wicked into infernal flames for ever. Endless torture disturbs the picture of happiness in God's

years have passed away. I kept no count of time. Tell me, then, what o'clock is it?' 'You fool!' the devil answers; 'why do you ask what o'clock it is? There is no clock in hell. A clock is to tell the time with. But in hell time is no more. It is eternity.' Psalm lxxx., '*Their time shall be for ever.*'

"Look into this little prison. In the middle of it there is a boy, a young man. He is silent; despair is on him. He stands straight up. His eyes are burning like two burning coals. Two long flames come out of his ears. His breathing is difficult. Sometimes he opens his mouth, and breath of blazing fire rolls out of it. But listen! there is a sound just like that of a kettle boiling. Is it really a kettle which is boiling? No. Then what is it? Hear what it is. The blood is boiling in the scalded veins of that boy. The brain is boiling and bubbling in his head. The marrow is boiling in his bones! Ask him, put the question to him, why is he thus tormented? His answer is, that when he was alive his blood boiled to do very wicked things, and he did them, and it was for that he went to dancing-houses, public-houses, and theatres."—See *The Sight of Hell*, by the Rev. J. Furniss, C.S.S.R., pp. 25, 20. Book x. of "Books for Children and Young Persons."

"Ad augmentum gaudii et felicitatis electorum faciet, quod impios in supplicium abire coram intuentur."—Gerhard.

¹ The following is a specimen of it: "God could not be just, if *hell-torments*, the punishments of the wicked, were not eternal; and these cannot be *eternal* unless God is as *merciful* as he is just in inflicting them."—See a sermon, *in which is demonstratively proved that the punishments of the reprobate in a future state must be eternal*. By F. B. L.—th, T. H. 1742.

future kingdom. Why, then, make it an essential part of Christianity, and prevent the acceptance of this religion by all who revolt against the thought of handing over the majority of mankind to perdition? It is difficult to see how that which is opposed to the infinite goodness of God can be coeternal with it. All evil casts a dark shadow over God's creation, and his kingdom cannot be consummated without its annihilation. There is no conceivable object in eternizing evil; for it is impossible to suppose that God wills a revelation of righteousness, truth, power, and love to be tarnished by it. Can the moral government of an almighty Ruler need the existence of beings doomed to eternal punishment; or is such warning example necessary? We think not. The final impenitence of rational creatures were a blot upon the aspect of a universe in which God is all in all. A ghastly hell is a kind of limit to His infinite goodness. As to the impossibility of "not telling *how*

many wise designs God may serve thereby," of which Dr. Samuel Clarke speaks, we can only express inability to discover *one*.¹

¹ "Ratio evidentissime docet nil bonitati veræque beatitudini ex diametro contrarium perpetuo esse posse. Bonitas enim circumscribit malitiam penitusque consumit, similiter vita mortem, beatitudo miseriam, virtus vitia mortuorumque causas cœteraque id genus."—Scotus Erigena, *De Divisione Naturæ*, v. 27, p. 259.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

THE perfectibility of human nature is a probable thing. Man's highest hopes and anticipations, the purest longings of his spirit, favour perpetual progress toward completeness, when he shall be filled with all that the finite can hold of the infinite. If a provision be not made in revelation for a change of moral character after death, it is made in reason. Philosophical considerations must not be set aside even by Scripture, or by the platitudes of those who think they settle the question with the words, "As the tree falleth, so it lies." Originally there were two distinct representations,

viz. the setting up of the Messianic kingdom with a participation of the risen saints in it; and the consummation or end of the world with the *general* resurrection and judgment. These constituents of primitive Christian eschatology either go together side by side, or appear in combination. Wherever the resurrection of the just is mentioned, reference is also found to the return of Christ, with whom appear the saints in "a spiritual body."¹ Where a general resurrection of the dead is spoken of, it is brought into connection with the judgment of all—a judgment pronounced by God himself.² The two representations are combined most readily where the second advent, the resurrection of the dead, the general judgment, and the end of the world make up a picture in which Christ is the principal figure. Another combination is effected

¹ Comp. 1 Thess. iv. 16; 2 Cor. iv. 14; Rom. viii. 11.

² Acts xxiv. 15; John v. 29; Matt. vi. 4, 6, 14, 18; Rev. xx. 11, etc.; Rom. ii. 5, etc., iii. 6.

when there is a twofold resurrection as in the Revelation, where the return of Christ and the end of all things are separated by the earthly reign of the Messiah, at the beginning of which the saints are raised to be sharers in it, and afterwards all the other dead are judged. At the final winding up, when a new heaven and a new earth appear, God is the Ruler.¹ The same view appears in the First Epistle to the Corinthians,² with this variation, that the Messianic kingdom is characterized by the opposition of enemies, till all are subdued and the end comes. In both cases, that kingdom is interposed between the advent of Christ and the consummation; but the external aspect of it is different.

The eschatological picture, as well in its early as its late ecclesiastical forms, rests upon an antiquated conception of the mundane system, which makes earth the centre, so that heaven

¹ xx.-xxii.

² xv. 20-28.

and hell are localities superterrestrial and subterranean, but assigns to their separation a significance derived from spiritual relations. Existence above the world is represented as superterrestrial; exclusion from the world is subterranean. The spiritual idea and its sensuous envelope commingle.¹ It should also be noted, that the rough antagonistic division of heaven and hell overleaps gradations and shades of character, interrupting the law of development. The consignment of every rational being to the two extremes, to complete bliss or torment at once, shows an imperfect apprehension of the continuity attaching to life. The Gnostics held that mankind are made up of three classes. Thus, the Valentinians divided them into pneumatic, psychical, and hylic; the first of which are brought into the pleroma by *gnosis*. This division has an advantage over that of the

¹ See Lipsius's *Lehrbuch der Evangelisch-Protestantischen Dogmatik*, § 953, pp. 846, 847, zweite Auflage.

Catholic Church. Doubtless the transference from one condition of existence to another must affect personality ; but gradual evolution admits of no sudden or impassable gap.

Our investigation shows that New Testament eschatology is far from being a homogeneous doctrine. Nothing is more incorrect than the opinion that the whole eschatological system, though made up of distinct portions, is so framed into a symmetrical whole that no one part of it can be dislocated from its junctures without affecting the integrity of the fabric. Diversities in the parts prevent them from forming a proper *system*. Its basis was the circle of Jewish notions current in the apostolic time, which was modified by early Christian consciousness. The idiosyncrasies of the writers, shaped by the circumstances of the times, by foreign modes of thought, especially Alexandrian ones, not excluding Persian ideas, and by the shifting scenes through which the authors passed, are seen in various

statements and metaphors. The picture is fluctuating and inconsistent. Subjective and objective phenomena moulded traditional views. Paul himself, notwithstanding his anti-legal position, shared the Pharisaic belief; though his Christian consciousness broke away from it at times, giving rise to theological antagonisms. It is therefore impossible to round the eschatological notions of the New Testament into a whole, or to make them a compact creed. Mental projection into the future must ever be vague and varied, when knowledge is unattainable. "We see through a glass darkly." When the spirit leaves the body, man's state is hidden from the living. We may speculate on future existence, and try to extract sparks of light from the New Testament; but a book which is neither consistent nor infallible cannot yield satisfaction. Other and unwritten instruments, reason, philosophy, and science furnish surer indications.

After all, it is not difficult to separate the Jewish Messianic elements of New Testament teaching from those which are conformable to the deepest Christian consciousness; to lay aside the temporal and retain the eternal. The soul, with its unsatisfied longings, the anomalies of the present life, the glory of God—especially his infinite love—point to a continued existence in which there shall be full scope for endless progression. The pious will be happy in different degrees, for it is reasonable to suppose that the rewards are proportionate to the value of good works. Theologians place the chief ingredient of blessedness in *the beatific vision of God*, or Milton's "beatitude past utterance." The common belief of Protestants is that souls are perfected at death or the judgment, passing by a sudden bound to completion without an intermediate preparation. This does not accord with the teachings of psychology or of morality. A state of completeness excluding all imperfec-

tion absolutely and at once, violates the law of gradual evolution which conditions created existences. It is more philosophical to believe that the souls of the righteous pass into another state in the degree of advancement they have attained to in this; their freedom from gross bodily bonds giving them a new facility in apprehending the Infinite Creator. "Our posthumous life," says Bishop Butler, "whatever there may be in it additional to our present, yet may not be entirely beginning anew, but going on. Death may in some sort, and in some respects, answer to our birth, which is not a suspension of the faculties which we had before it, or a total change of the state of life in which we existed when in the womb; but a continuation of both, with such and such great alterations."¹ But can growth be thought of without inequalities and variations? Is it conceivable, without a feeling of dissatisfaction with the

¹ *Analogy of Religion*, part i. chap. i.

present—a feeling inseparable from the desire of a better future? Probably not.

We think too much of time and space in connection with eternal life. The *I* aims at elevation above all such conditions, so as to be more closely united with the Eternal. Its development is in the feeling of such independence as tends to make it more and more a self-conscious entity beyond the reach of outward limitations. The realization of self-consciousness is the measure of its progress towards the Infinite.

The purgatorial fire of Roman Catholics supplies an intermediate but sensuous process which is wanting in Protestantism, filling up a gap in the soul's preparation for ulterior blessedness which the latter overleaps by a magical transformation. In place of it, some Protestants adopt the hades-state preparatory to the blessedness of soul and body in heaven. But that is unnecessary. The preparation in this life for a higher condition continues in the next, apart

from any grand consummation after the solemn judicial sentence has been pronounced upon all.

The resurrection of the body, the coming of Christ in person to judge mankind, the hades-state between death and the resurrection, the endless torments of the wicked, may be looked upon as the opinions of men at a stage of culture which the present day has passed. The creeds of the Churches are pervaded by the Pauline rather than the Johannine theology, though the latter exhibits a more spiritual apprehension. Traditional teachers fight for the apostolic authorship of the fourth Gospel, and give its theology a small place in their creed, pushing it into the background behind that of Paul. They cling to the visible second advent of Christ, with his formal pronouncing of judgment on the good and bad ; though these give place to a spiritual coming and a subjective judgment in the theological Gospel. They describe future condemnation in repulsive details, whereas that Gospel

says nothing definite about it. They take literally what is expressed in figure, and materialize things divine. But inconsistency cleaves to man, and he cannot emancipate himself from intellectual weakness. Church creeds should be short and undogmatic if they would avoid collision with Scripture. As the latter is not homogeneous, they should be confined to plain and elementary truths that provoke least controversy. The ethical principles of the Sermon on the Mount are enough for a symbol. Are not love to God and love to man a sufficient ecclesiastical basis? Why exalt dogma above spirit and life? Why make the intellectual override the moral?¹

¹ "Wenn sich der Verfasser eines Symbols, wenn sich der Lehrer einer Kirche, ja jeder Mensch, sofern er innerlich sich selbst die Ueberzeugung von Sätzen als göttlichen Offenbarungen gestehen soll, fragte: getrauest du dich wohl in Gegenwart des Herzenskundiger mit verzichtung auf alles, was dir werth und heilig ist, dieser Sätze Wahrheit zu betheuern? so müsste ich von der menschlichen (des guten doch wenigstens nicht ganz unfähigen), Natur einen sehr nachtheiligen Begriff haben, um nicht vorauszusehen, dass auch der kühnste Glaubenslehrer hiebei zittern müsste. Wenn das aber so ist, wie reimt es sich mit der Gewissenhaftigkeit zusammen, gleichwohl auf eine solche

The *nature* and *form* of the future life are utterly unknown. Is the form of it to undergo changes? Is the abode of the blessed varied according to the degrees of advancing happiness attained? Are the heavenly bodies their dwelling-places, or the purified and renewed earth? Is heaven a *state*, not a locality? The answers to these questions will be different because of the mind's limitations.

Speculations about the future destiny of the earth or the universe do not belong to theology, although the state of departed spirits has sometimes been brought into connection with them. According to the New Testament, the end of

Glaubenserklärung, die keine einschränkung zulässt, zu dringen, und die Vermessenheit solcher Betheuerungen sogar selbst für Pflicht und gottesdienstlich auszugeben, dadurch aber die Freiheit der Menschen, die zu allem, was moralisch ist (dergleichen die Annahme einer Religion), durchaus erfordert wird, gänzlich zu Boden zu schlagen und nicht einmal dem guten Willen Platz einzuräumen, der da sagt: 'Ich glaube, lieber Herr, helf meinem Unglauben!'"—Kant, in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft*, pp. 288, 289, vol. vi., sämtliche Werke, edited by Hartenstein.

this material world, its consummation by fire, succeeds the general judgment. And then a difference of view arises among theologians ; some supposing that its qualities will be marvellously changed or transformed, in accord with the " new heaven and the new earth " of the Revelation, as also with Paul's language in the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans ; others advocating an entire annihilation of the universe with the sole exception of rational beings—a hypothesis which implies that God's eternal purpose has reference to rational spirits, external nature being only a temporary thing subservient to their preparation for another condition of being. The sudden transformation of heaven and earth into an ideal completeness excluding all imperfection, runs counter to the law of gradual evolution ; while the annihilation-hypothesis reduces man's existence to a passing phantasm. If earth be dissolved into its original elements, it may be reconstructed to become the heaven of blessed

spirits.¹ The religious idea rests in the fact of the soul's continued progression toward the perfection of which it is capable, without anxiety as to the conditions under which it exists. Though the earth be renewed or pass away, changes in nature touch not the essential happiness of that soul.

From all we have said, it appears that the eschatology of the New Testament is like the doctrine, so far forth as it forms no system ; both having passed through minds of different breadth and spirituality. It is not, however, of the *essence* of religion which should be considered apart from the adventitious elements attaching to it.

As to Christianity, which is undoubtedly an elevated phase of the spiritual development

¹ Scientific men generally hold Sir W. Thomson's doctrine of the dissipation of energy, and the consequent future dissolution of all systems in the universe. In their hypotheses, man is little if at all considered ; God himself is shoved away out of sight behind *Nature*.

through which the human mind has passed, what is to be its future in the world? The power of it is sufficient to raise mankind in the present life to a high degree of virtue ; though it is a dead letter to all who profess respect for its character, while no regenerating influence appears over their passions and practices. Invested as it is with the powers of the world to come, it should have additional force. But the light it throws upon the future is darkened by artificial shadows. Its eschatology is imperfect, needing adjustment to the claims of reason and science.

Christian philosophy has still much to do. Elements of heathenism attaching to religion must either be appropriated in some form, or entirely put away. Whatever is polytheistic or roughly dualist, the wide antagonism of matter and spirit, the distinction of a higher and lower God, of the natural and supernatural, all sensuous clothing of the religious and speculative ideas

underlying heathenism or Judaism must be dropped. A development of spirit, on the basis of objective Christianity, must advance to a purer height. If Christianity be the absolute religion, as Schleiermacher supposes it to be so far as it is the religion of redemption or as Christ is the Redeemer, it should be presented in the best light, rescuing humanity from transgression of moral laws, and maturing it for a higher state. The spirit's consciousness of its relationship to *the Absolute* must be quickened till it find rest in the realization of unity with the Absolute. Platonic ideas which have been adopted by Christianity under varying influences and at different times, notwithstanding their excellence require sifting that only the true may be retained. Schleiermacher's philosophy of religion, based as it is on the standpoint of subjectivity, has much to commend it; and Hegel's resting upon that of objectivity, has more: but both are defective. No philosophy

can be accepted which does not give prominence to an unconditioned First Cause of all—an unseen Power who has established laws that control the universe, an all-pervading Spirit manifested in nature and felt within us—nor should the need of release from the effects either of man's degenerate origin or of his fall fail to be supplied. The archetypal Redeemer and historical Christ must be brought into complete union without obvious leaning to docetism, and the former be viewed otherwise than in Schleiermacher's Christology; while Hegel's ideal Christ nullifies the conception of the historical Christ whom faith appropriates as the God-man. The Christian religion may be damaged by the attempts of philosophers to idealize its essence, or to expound it in theosophic diction, even though its end be characterized as the reconciliation of God and man. Our consciousness must not be identified with the source from which it emanates; nor can it be safely held

that the one shall be ultimately absorbed in the other. However intimate their union, they remain distinct. The pantheism of the Aryan religions may extinguish the personal element which is so prominent in Semitism ; but the latter was clearly recognized in the teaching of Jesus, and claims entire assent. Individuality, foreign as it is to Buddhism, belongs to the essence of Christianity. The future is but a continuation of the present *I* amid different surroundings, all tending to exalt but not obliterate.

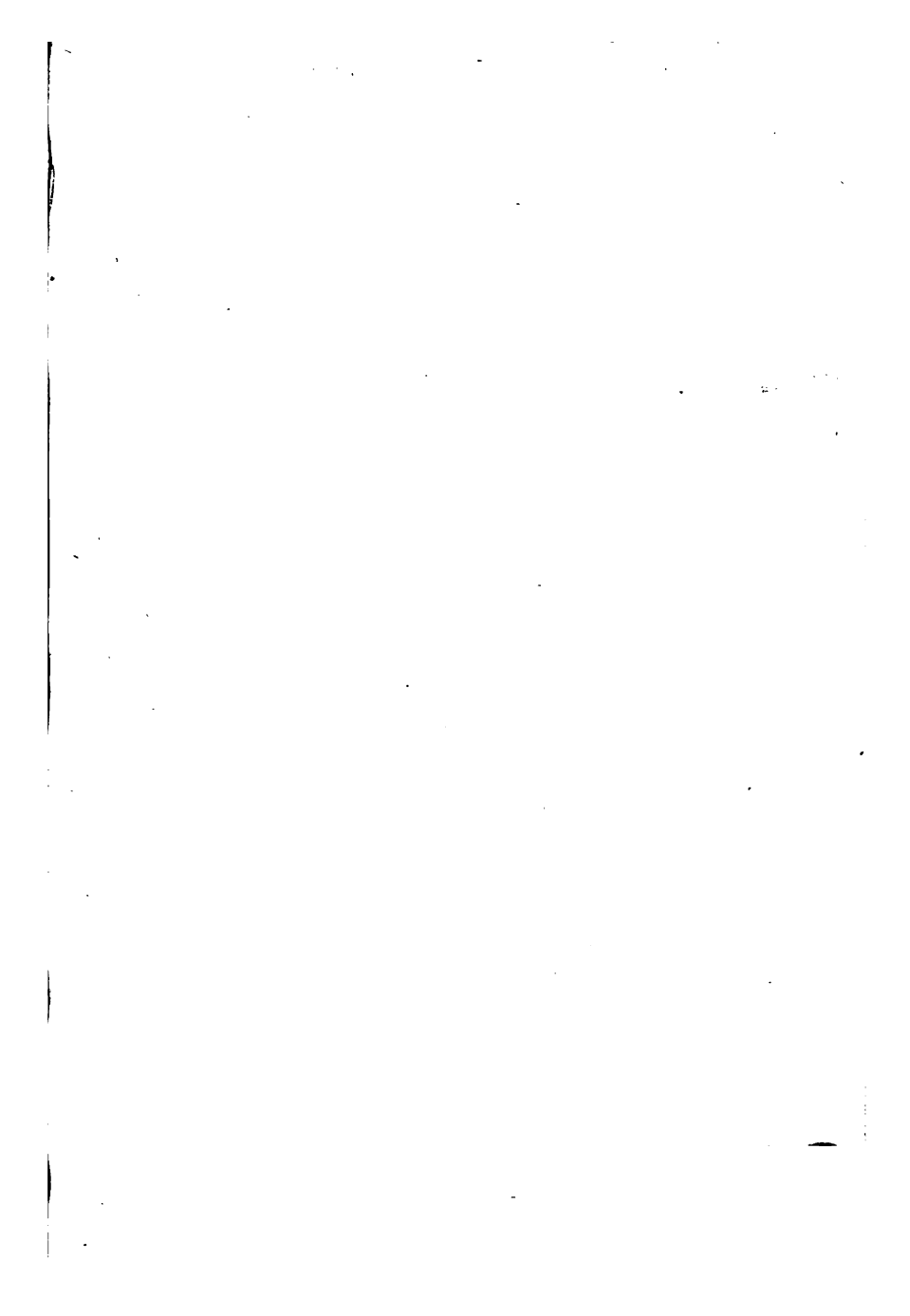
Whether that future be an object of hope or of belief, it is the goal to which most look without fear of losing their personality. Little importance attaches to the idea that man's consciousness of the divine may be suspended for a time, compared with the persuasion that it will not be extinguished. Creatures are neither *evanescent modifications of the infinite substance,*

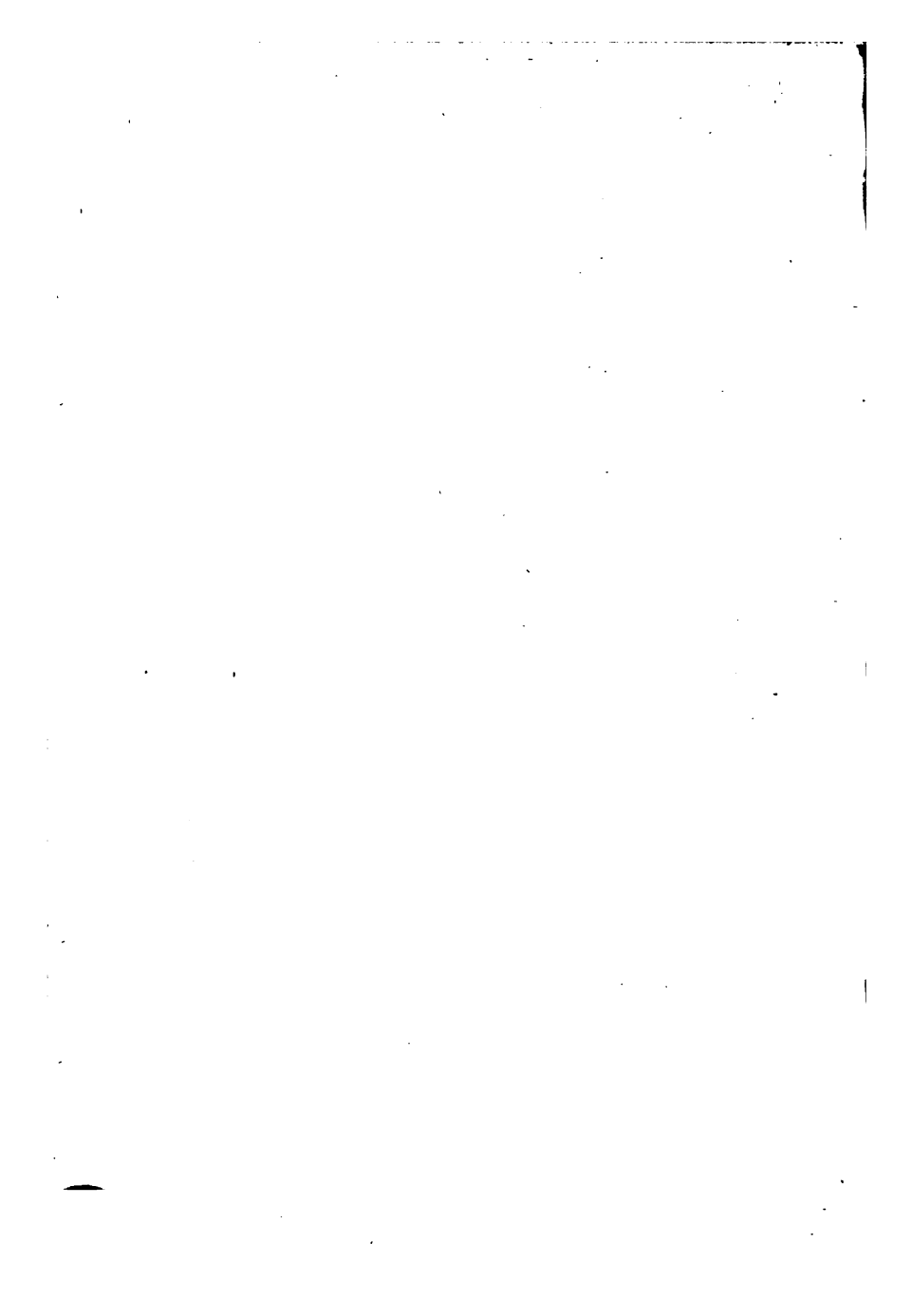
as Spinoza's system makes them, nor *imperfect manifestations of the absolute ego*, into which Fichte resolves them ; they are the offspring of God, bearing His imperishable image, however dimmed. Philosophers may object, and even adduce some of the twenty-six arguments of Lucretius ; emphasizing those which they consider the strongest, viz. man's unconsciousness during a fainting fit, as if a short suspension of consciousness showed beforehand its perpetual suspension in the future ; and the impossibility of the soul existing apart from the body ; but it is wiser to doubt reasoning founded only on the phenomena or facts which come under our cognizance in the brief life we now live. Though the connection between human organs and their functions is *close*, it is a bold thing to pronounce it *indissoluble*, as if the functions could not possibly exist without the organs. Analogies from the present to the future should not be pressed

too far. When materialists are prepared to write on the gates of death the words of the poet, "leave all hope behind, you who enter,"¹ their state of mind is surely unfortunate.

¹ *Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che entrate.*—Dante, *Inferno*, iii. 9.

THE END.





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